

Akinaiba -- trading zone

Ashinpe -- A minor fine.

It is imposed in practically all offenses. Not a mere fine but a gift used to be pardon of God.

Basho -- estate

Bashomochi -- estate holders

Chigyosho -- tenure

Kaihō -- A term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties.
trading

A short form for Kaihō Sukui Kōeki, "trade for opening up and assisting."

Mekkakiri -- A ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief.

Nawa-Tojibune -- roped ships

Omusha -- A ceremony of greeting after a long absence. Later became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season.

Otona -- the chief of a village

Shamo -- mainlander

Tsugunai -- compensation, atonement, arbitration charge

Unjōkin -- A certain fee for the right to certain trade monopolies.

Utare -- kinsfolk

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TRANSACTIONS
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THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRO

Translated and annotated by

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Department of History, University of Florida

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
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[P. 1.] [Title Page]

1: Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Any lengthy introduction to Professor Takakura's work, *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, would be redundant, for in his introduction he states what he is attempting to do and why he is doing it, and his following chapters are based on the assumption that his Japanese readers are not familiar with his subject and thus every step and detail is made as clear as possible. Therefore, the purpose of this preface is neither to paraphrase the author nor to elucidate the text, but to emphasize something the author omits, that is, the importance of what he has done.

Japan is a conquered land whose civilization, of fairly recent origin, is an amalgam of the cultures of groups of conquerors and groups of conquered. The origins of all these people are in shadow but the accessibility of the Japanese archipelago by sea permits them to have come from regions as far apart as the Polar North and the Tropics. If one forgets the stereotype of Japan as an isolated island chain off the continent and instead thinks of it as a vital segment of the life and movement of Maritime Northeast Asia and

[Text continues bottom of P. 3(A) - Analysis]

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

then if one imagines Maritime Northeast Asia as a large broken ellipse which resembles a vast parenthesis, the concept of streams of immigration to Japan becomes quite clear. One half of the curve of the ellipse is the Japanese archipelago and the island of Saghalien. The other semicircle, the continent of Asia from Korea to the mouth of the Amur River. The halves of the ellipse are joined by the Sea of Japan, but are open at the south to the Yellow Sea and at the north to the Okhotsk Sea. These seas were highroads over which bands of raiders and colonists crossed and those who came to the archipelago often had to struggle against those who had come before and then, in their turn, resist newcomers. Sometime around the beginning of the Christian era one group had secured so strong a position that it began to bring surrounding areas under a single rule. Then began the real conquest of the entire archipelago, a conquest not complete until fairly recent times.

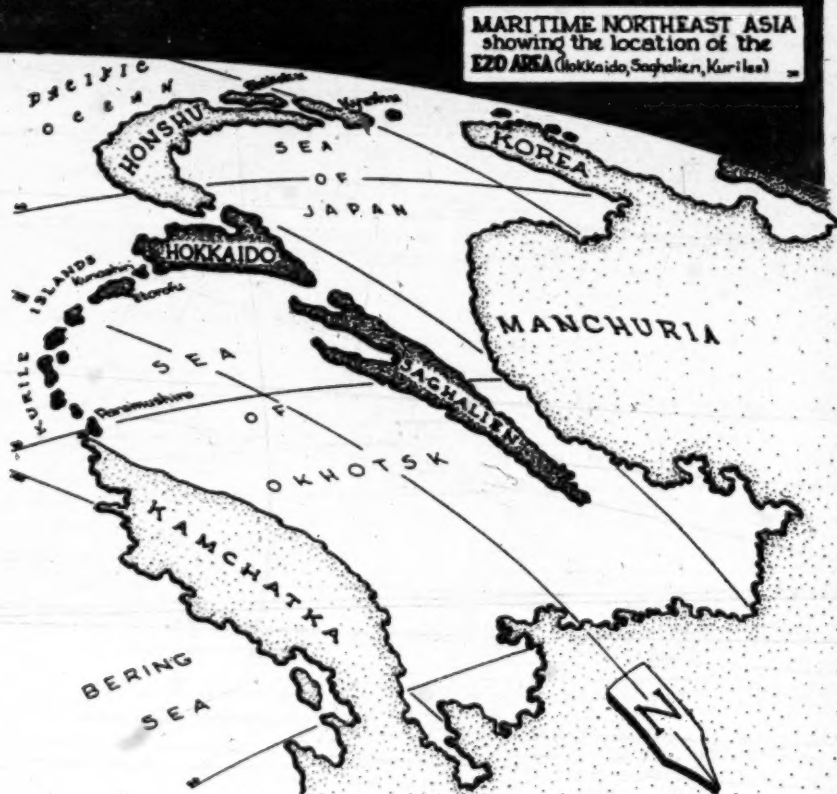
In the course of the conquest and settlement of the main island of Honshu, Japanese military posts and

[Text continues bottom of p.4(B)--analysis]

[P.3(B)]

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MAP 2

[P. 4(A)]

agricultural settlements reached farther and farther north until by the end of the ninth century the Tsugaru Straits had been reached although not until the end of the twelfth century was the entire area of north Honshu pacified, while the great remaining frontier area of Hokkaidō was not brought under complete control until the nineteenth century. Yet while it took the Japanese centuries to consolidate their grip on the islands, and while this slow northward struggle had the most momentous consequences for the history of Japan, this frontier, with all it implied, often escaped the

records or even was ignored by the historians. This is partly due to the fact that the last great campaigns were fought in the ninth century when history was only an official annals dominated by an inward looking court, and later due to the cavalier treatment usually given to great events which took place so far away from what was regarded as the only possible fount of history—the court at Kyoto and the area of Central Japan. Even in modern Japanese historiography—and the Japanese have been indefatigable historians—few men have approached the subject. It is as though in American

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114 history the trans-Mississippi West were simply assumed
 115 and never studied in detail and as though there had
 never been a Turner or a Webb or a Bolton. Since
 pre-war official ideology had as much to do with this
 lack of regard for the frontier movement as did the
 difficulty of researching the subject, the end of the war
 has seen a movement toward restoring the history of the
 North to its rightful place and we now have, in *Ainu*
Seisaku Shi, a carefully wrought major history of the
 final stage of the conquest, a work which tells us in
 detail not only of the penetration and settlement of the
 island of Hokkaido but one which surveys the history
 and society of the last resistors to the pressure of
 Japanese civilization. Takakura's history is therefore
 114 much more than "the history of native policy within
 colonial policy" that he modestly claims. It is a pain-
 staking reliable analysis of a part of the history of
 Japan which had, for one reason or another, remained
 obscure until his labors. Furthermore, I regard his
 work as one which will never be duplicated for I doubt
 that ever again anyone will spend a lifetime acquiring
 the specialized knowledge of language, manuscripts,
 topography, and natives that he did. As a contribution
 to the history of Japan this is a pioneer study and as a
 study of the meeting of two cultures, of native and
 colonial policies, it is a valuable contribution to world
 literature on the subject. To his work Professor Ta-
 kakura brought a rare spirit "of anger at the fact that,
 during my youth, it was apparant that nothing was
 being done to improve the lot of the Ainu . . . [but]
 as I pursued my studies . . . I came to realize that I
 could not solve this problem unless . . . I had an
 accurate understanding of its historical development."
 He began the first draft of his book in 1928 and com-
 pleted it in 1936. He then spent twelve years in re-
 vision and in 1948 *Ainu Seisaku Shi* was published.

I read *Ainu Seisaku Shi* in 1950 as part of the work I
 was doing on the Japanese North. I continued my re-
 search until I concluded that only by living in Japan
 and having access to the materials could really sound
 research on this particular phase of Japanese history be
 done. This was out of the question and I realized that
 a good translation of Takakura would be of more value
 than any peripheral monograph I might turn out. I
 set to work on translating in 1953 and, devoting as much
 time to it as I could from teaching and from administra-
 tive tasks, I completed my revisions by 1957. The length
 of time taken was due in large measure to my concern
 that a complex subject should be made as clear as
 translation and my abilities permitted. This meant the
 solution of difficult passages that could not be glossed
 over; keeping within limits a gloss that could be as long
 as the text by incorporating it within the text, and find-
 ing accurate equivalents for many archaic and local
 Japanese words and for many native terms, some of
 which have no equivalent in Japanese. It would not
 have been possible to solve the final residue of seemingly
 untranslatable terms without the help of Professor

Takakura who not only had encouraged me to undertake the translation but who, at the end, provided invaluable information on terminology. 114

Only the first 208 pages of the Japanese text plus the entire critical bibliography are translated. At the end of page 208 the history of the conquest comes to an end, Modern Japan is at hand, and the remainder of the story is the sad and familiar one of well-meant but weak and unenforceable protection laws for the natives, native reservations, and the decline of a handful of thoroughly acculturated tourist attractions. As I have already noted I have made every attempt to avoid the esoteric or obscure in this translation. If those without Japanese are to gain from this work it will be because it is complete within itself, and is designed for those with an interest in the history and anthropology of Japan. [175]

Because of my own interest in the subject the preparation of the translation was a labor of love, but there are several people without whose help it could not have been brought to completion and published. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Takakura Shinichirō, a great scholar who helped in the most cheerful manner when called upon; to Professor Ide Yoshimitsu of Tōkyō University who undertook to check doubtful passages against the original and whose learning and diligence were invaluable; to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research whose generosity enabled me to purchase microfilms and photostats necessary to the translation and to spend part of a summer in the Library of Congress checking sources and secondary materials; to Dr. Leslie Spier of Santa Cruz, California, who, over the years, has been a source of encouragement in carrying on an esoteric work and who has been instrumental in helping me to publish. Without their help this work would not have been brought to completion. 000

ON USAGE

Professor Donald Keene of Columbia has remarked that "a translation is a work in English . . . it is not an intermediate step to the original." Any who have struggled through the intricate apparatus of many translations cannot but agree with him. To encapsulate a translation in an impenetrable shell of notes and references, leaving the reader like some minor Mahomet, suspended between the Heaven of the original and the Hell of the translation, is surely not much of a service. I have stripped away as much of the apparatus of linguistic and scholarly credentials as possible on the theory that a translator should be invisible and that his scholarship should be incorporated within the text of a translation. However, there are limits to how much one can "English" as detailed and special a work as *Aimu Seisaku Shi*. While this work is for the interested historian or anthropologist, with no knowledge of things Japanese, yet I have had to keep in mind the small number familiar with Japanese and, in order to balance 114

between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one.

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There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho*, *Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be *daimyō* (feudal lord), *samurai* (warrior retainers), *shogun* (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu.

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Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[Text continues top of P. 6(B) - Analysis]

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees

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[Text continues bottom of P. 6(B) - Analysis]

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they had nominal control of Ōu. The name Ezo then became a designation for that immense and dimly known territory comprised of Hokkaidō, the Kuriles, and Saghalien. In this book Ezo means Hokkaidō and the Ezo are the Ainu of Hokkaidō. Sometimes Hokkaidō is called East Ezo in contrast to West Ezo or Saghalien. In lower case, eastern Ezo and western Ezo refer to the eastern and western parts of the island of Hokkaidō. Saghalien is given its standard Japanese name of Karafuto and the Kuriles are properly the Chishima Islands. There is one other geographical term which may puzzle the reader at first unless explained. This is "mainland." This does not refer to the continent of Asia but to the main island of Japan—Honshu—and was constantly used by the Japanese in contrast to "the island" or Hokkaidō. Although all of Japan is insular, time, history, and distance somehow ingrained in the Japanese mind the idea that Hokkaidō was an "island" as against the "mainland" of Japan.

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WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

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Cloth measure:

shaku = 14.9 inches.
tan = varies from 25 to 30 shaku.

Capacity measure:

10 shaku = 1 gō = .31 pint.
10 gō = 1 shō = 1.58 quart.
10 shō = 1 tō = 3.97 gals. or .49 bu.
10 tō = 1 koku = 39.7 gals. or 4.96 bu.

Distance measure:

1 ri = 2.44 miles.
cho = 5 chains = 119 yards.

Coinage weights (in silver):

1 fun = 5.79 grains.
10 fun = 1 momme = 2.12 drachms.
160 momme = 1 kin = 1.32 lbs.
1000 momme = 1 kuan = 8.28 lbs.

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* Coins (average values 1700–1850):

60 momme (silver) = 1 ryō (gold).
4 kan (copper) = 1 ryō (gold).

shu and mon—Minor coins of constantly varying value. Impossible to find equivalents. Mon ran 1000 of a kan. Shu ran by silver weight.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

of civilization, aborigines and, from the contacts of colonists with natives, there arises the "native problem." The solution to this problem, i.e. "a native policy" is, along with land problems, the greatest concern of a

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* The Tokugawa currency was a complex one with shifting units and values and gold and silver coins generally circulated by weight and not by unit value.

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A
121 Colonial policy. The purpose of this research is to present some data concerning the study of native policy within the frame of colonial policy.¹

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648 From one standpoint, the history of Japan is that of the continuous expansion by colonization of the Yamato race. Japan's colonial activities had been especially vigorous in recent years. Formosa and the Pescadores Islands were taken in 1896; southern Saghalien was added in 1906 and Korea was absorbed in 1910. Now, comparing Japan's situation prior to the acquisition of Formosa with its situation after the inclusion of Korea, we find an increase in land area of approximately 300,000 sq.km., or 76.6 per cent and a population increase of some 17,200,000 Koreans, 3,700,000 Formosan Chinese and Formosan tribes and 1,520 Saghalien natives. Japan's policy towards these people has not only a significant bearing on their lives but will determine whether or not our colonial management is successful. The sudden development of our nation in recent years has made it inevitable then that there be frequent contiguity with natives and the success of our native policies affects the success of our continental venture and therefore the existence of the Japanese nation. Now, as systematic study is needed to rationalize a colonial policy, so is scientific study needed in order to form an ideal native policy. However, since the systematic study of colonization is a recent development and still in the process of establishing itself as an independent discipline, the study of native policy, which is a division of colonial policy, is only occasionally referred to and then merely in individual cases and, as yet, no consistent principles have been established by the processes of gathering materials and conducting comparative studies.² The natural procedure ought to be

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[648] ¹ Colonial studies cannot be said to have achieved sufficient progress even in Germany where they are most advanced. In 1909 C. Ballod in his essay, *Die wissenschaftlichen Ansichten über Kolonialpolitik*, in Schmoller, *Die Entwicklung der Deutschen Volkswirtschaftslehre im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1909, stated that colonial study is a product of the nineteenth century. Later G. Zoepfel, who contributed to the establishment of colonial study as a discipline in his *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (section on "Kolonien und Kolonialpolitik"), says that today there does not exist any scientific explanation of colonial policy which pays equal attention to all colonies and he notes these studies. In the fourth edition of Zoepfel edited by P. Leutwein it cannot be said that the earlier weaknesses of the book are supplemented.

² A scientific basis for native policy was established by the English scholars Sir G. C. Lewis, H. Merivale, and E. G. Wakefield. But in Germany where the study of colonization first emerged the consideration of administrative policy, economic policy, and native policy were confined to A. Zimmermann's book, *Kolonialpolitik* (Leipzig, Hirschfeld, 1905). In Japan native policy has been discussed as a part of native administrative policy and colonial labor policy. Professor Yanaihara's study of political interference in native social life as a native policy to the exclusion of other factors was an appropriate but unique piece of work. See his *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku* (Colonization and Colonial policy), 363 ff. My own so-called "native policy" involved broad fields including those of political, economic and social interference and although it

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Early Japan AB3

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one of analyzing the individual cases and then proceeding to comparative studies and synthesis, always avoiding undue haste in both comparison and synthesis. Such care in procedure is particularly needed in native policy studies for they are not only affected and complicated by the nature of the colony and of the individual settlers, but depend, to a great degree, upon the state of aboriginal civilization which is difficult to observe and this consequently renders more difficult any comparison and synthesis based on such observations. In recent years those Japanese who studied colonization have followed the example of other countries and adopted European and American methods of study. It is true that the acquisition of Formosa in 1896 is the beginning of the modern period of Japanese colonization. But colonization or colonial activity has been a phenomenon in Japanese history since the founding of our country and we Japanese have had abundant experience, in native policy, without turning elsewhere for cases and methods.

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In the embryonic stage of our history there were the Kumaso and Hayato in the southwest and the powerful Ezo in the northeast who were a source of anxiety to the government of Japan. The Ezo in the Ōu [North Honshu] region who had great power and interfered often with the expansion of Japan ceased their rebellions in A.D. 878 and were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century,³ while the Ezo of Hokkaidō, who were one of the branches of the Ōu Ezo, ended their rebellions in 1789 and their descendants, who are the Ainu, are still in the process of assimilation.⁴ The arrangement and critique of these valuable

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may not be classified as a separate field of study, I hope my position may be allowable if only from the standpoint of presenting materials on each of these aspects and then observing the mutual interrelationships of each one. Furthermore, colonial policy, though not designed to advance the happiness of natives by sacrificing that of the mother country, bears a moral responsibility in the future in that it ought to plan for the progress of the natives without, of course, damaging the welfare of the mother country. Therefore, it is important in discussing native policy to discuss every part of it relevant to native life. I believe my stand in this is acceptable.

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³ Kida Teikichi, Honshu ni okeru Ezo no matsuho (The last days of the Ezo in Honshu), *Tohoku Bunka Kenkyū* 1 (4).

⁴ Kumaso and Hayato are legendary names applied to the earliest inhabitants of southern Kyushu. Contemporary assumptions hold that they were migrants from Indonesia who very early established themselves in this area although there is no evidence as to their origin or their path of migration. They seem to have been assimilated quite early in the history of the Japanese state and there is considerable doubt as to whether or not Kumaso and Hayato refer to an identical people. Without attempting to resolve this point I would like to point out that Hayato is an abbreviation for Hayabito or "Haya people" and that Hayato was used as early as the first century as a catch-all phrase for a number of groups including the Hayato themselves. The earlier name Kumaso seems to stem from Kumabito or "Kuma people" and Sobito or "So people." The Kumabito meaning "inhabitant of a rural district" lived in the province of Higo in Kyushu and the character *Hi* came to be read as *Kuma*. In contrast the inhabitants of mountainous regions of Kyushu were the Sobito or "dwellers in the hill

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121 The arrangement and critique of these valuable experiences, gained over a long period of time not only is of the greatest value to Japan's native policies but will furnish excellent material for discovering principles

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114 shadows." The union of these two groups in the ancient Japanese chronicles leads to the portmanteau word *Kumaso*. *Kumaso* then refers to peoples living in two distinct areas of Kyushu. At the same time the chronicles which give us this information clearly speak of a third group, the *Hayato*, who probably resided in modern Satsuma province. The assimilation of all three groups left behind in the records an identification of all three under the name of the most warlike and feared and therefore most likely to be remembered, i.e. *Hayato*. Therefore, while *Hayato* is logically confused with *Kumaso* and a sound inference may be drawn that they mean the same, an equally sound inference shows that these two names may denominate three separate groups of inhabitants in ancient Kyushu.

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114 The term *Eso* is somewhat easier for identification. *Eso*, used continually in this work to identify those people known to the West as Ainu is a corruption of a corruption. It comes from *Ebisu* which in turn comes from *Emishi*. *Emishi* in turn is a corruption of the ancient aboriginal words "*emushi*" and "*Yumaso*" meaning literally "sword" and figuratively referring to the great fighting qualities of these people. Now while a keen appreciation of their war abilities led the Japanese to refer to the aborigines by the name of a weapon, the fact is that these aborigines of whom the Ainu are a remains were more properly called the *Koshi*, and the meaning of *Koshi* leads us in its turn through a number of interesting corruptions. Ancient *Koshi* was in the Izumo region and the Izumo people of Japanese legend came into the *Koshi* country in prehistoric times. The *Koshi* were partially assimilated by the Izumo people and partly pressed to the eastward. Those forced to the east are well known in historic times as the *Koshi* or *Koshi* or "fighting *Koshi*" and their historic territory included Echizen, Etchū, Dewa, Echigo, Tsugaru, and Hokkaidō, or all of Japan north of the Tōkyō area. Now in time *Koshi* changed to *Kushi* and even in contemporary times the natives of the Kuriles were called *Kushi*. The designation *Kushi* underwent a change of sound first to *Kui* and then later to *Kai*. The fighting aborigines of the Northeast then were known interchangeably as the *Kai* or the *Emishi*. *Emishi* in time gave way to *Ebisu* which is a rather unusual change for while *Ebisu* specifically refers to the *Kai* people, the *Iroha Jirui Shō*, which is the first Japanese dictionary and which was compiled near the end of the Heian period, indicates that all aliens in Japan were called *Ebisu*; yet it was commonly used for merely one group—the *Kai*. *Ebisu* in its turn gave way to the corruption *Yezo*.

The origin of the word *Ainu* seems rather clear, the only point of dispute being whether it is basically of Japanese or aboriginal descent. That is, was *Kai*'s designation originated by the aborigines or by the Japanese, for it is from *Kai* that the word *Ainu* comes. When the Japanese came into contact with the *Eso* of the far north of Japan, an honorific suffix "*no*" was added to *Kai* and these *Eso* were called *Kaina*. In time the initial consonant was dropped and *Aino*, *Ainu*, *Aino* came into use. Records of the Tsugaru region from the seventeenth century state that Ainu who took Japanese names were distinguished by the addition of *inu* or "dog" to their name and there is a school of thought which believes that *Ainu* comes from *inu*. However, I prefer the more logical *Kai*—*Kaina*—*Ainu* sequence, particularly as late Tokugawa records show that *Kaina* was still in use in interior Hokkaidō and Karafuto. One further point deserves mention and that is the question of whether the Ainu of Hokkaidō are indeed related to the *Eso* of Northern Japan. I think there can be little question of this. I refer the specialist to the third chapter of Kindaichi's *Ainu Kenkyū* where the relationship seems conclusively proven. I

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Early Japan AB3
Fudoki Japan AB2A
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basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.*

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony³ wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

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realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso*, *Hayato*, *Ezo*, and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki*, the *Izumo Fudoki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyōshū* in regard to these matters.

*A publication of the Hokkaidō Prefectural Government, the *SHS*, is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

³P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

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one of assimilation, and in tracing our native policy in Hokkaidō we are able to use concrete examples of various measures taken at these different colonial stages and to study their suitability. For convenience in procedure, it is possible to divide the colonial activities in Hokkaidō, following Leroy-Beaulieu, into: commercial colonial period, exploited colonial period, and resident colonial period or, as classified by Supan,^{*} native colonial period, mixed colonial period, and settled colonial period or again, according to the actual policies followed, the non-assimilating period, the assimilating period, and the period of social welfare policy. However, as I intend to concentrate on the description of actual facts rather than abstract explanations, I prefer to divide the colonial era into five political periods:

1. The early Matsumae clan period.
2. The early Bakufu direct control period.
3. The later Matsumae clan period.
4. The later Bakufu direct control period.
5. The Kaitakushi and San Ken Dōchō period.

By analyzing the facts of each period and by observing the forms, reasons, and characteristics of policy in each period, and by then comparing all this with other examples I shall attempt by induction to uncover basic tendencies. My reason for using a division by political periods is that politics affects policy, at least in form, and native policies are no exception. The scope of each of these periods is the same as that in the *Shinsen Hokkaidō Shi* [SHS] [Revised History of Hokkaidō] although they are not necessarily coterminous.

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The early Matsumae period: A period of seventy-five years, beginning in 1514 when Kakizaki Mitsuhiro moved into the present Fukuyama area after having united the fortified settlements scattered in southern Hokkaidō. This was after he had become the leader of the mainlanders in Hokkaidō and had been entrusted

^{*} A. Supan, *Die Territoriale Entwicklung der europäischen Kolonien*, 307 Gotha, Perthes, 1906.

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with full power in Ezo by the Andō family.^b It runs to December of 1798 when East Ezo [Hokkaidō] came under the direct control of the Bakufu. 600
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The early Bakufu direct control period: A period of twenty-three years from 1799 when the Bakufu [shogunate-military administration of Japan] assumed direct control of East Ezo till December of 1821 when the Bakufu abandoned its direct control and the Matsumae clan resumed direction of Ezo affairs.

The later Matsumae clan period: A period of thirty-three years from December of 1821 when Hokkaidō came again under the rule of the Matsumae till June of 1854 when the Bakufu established a commissioner at Hakodate.

The later Bakufu direct control period: A period of fifteen years from 1854 till April of 1868 when the Meiji Government established a court at Hakodate and gave it the management of Hokkaidō.^c

Kaitakushi, Sanken Dōchō period:^d From the time the Meiji government assumed control of Hokkaidō till 1899 when in April of that year the "Hokkaidō Aboriginal Protection Act" was enacted. J
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Although, after this last period, many problems still remain, germane to a discussion of native policy and colonial policy, this study will be limited to the era prior to the time Hokkaidō began to lose its colonial characteristics. Any study comprising the time following 1899 should be limited to a critique of the "Hokkaidō Aboriginal Protection Act."

^b See J. A. Harrison, *Japan's northern frontier*, 4-5, Gainesville, Univ. of Florida, 1953.

^c On 15 August 1869 the ancient name Ezo was abandoned by the Restoration government and that island was named Hokkaidō (The Northern Sea Circuit). J
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^d In 1869 control of Hokkaidō was given to the *Kaitakushi* or Colonial Bureau, a separate division of government especially established to settle and develop Hokkaidō. In 1881 the *Kaitakushi* was dissolved and Hokkaidō was divided into the three departments of Hakodate, Nemuro, and Sapporo, and was governed from Tōkyō. In 1886 this division was ended and Hokkaidō was made an administrative entity of ten provinces with the capital at Sapporo.

PART ONE

THE EARLY PERIOD OF
Clan Government

INTRODUCTION

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The SHS³ delimits this period¹ from 1582 when Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received in audience by the Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who recognized the Kakizaki family as independent of the control of the Andō clan in the Ōu region, until 1799 when Eastern Ezo came under the direct control of the Bakufu. Seventeen years after the audience with Hideyoshi, Kakizaki Yoshihiro was received (1599) by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu after which he changed his name to Matsumae Yoshihiro. In 1604, with a decree of enforcement from Tokugawa Ieyasu, Matsumae established his own clan. However, I would prefer to predate this period to 1514 when Mitsuhiro, the great-grandfather of Yoshihiro, moved into Fukuyama and became the *de facto* ruler of Ezo. This marks the time when the mainlanders in Ezo united under the Kakizaki family and when the Kakizaki were entrusted with the care of Ezo by the Andō clan. Although this earlier date is some eighty-five years prior to the establishment of an independent Matsumae fief and while the Kakizaki were only deputies of the Andō in Ezo, nevertheless it is from this year that "colonial" activities begin in Hokkaidō for it was the first time Japanese immigrants in the area were united.

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On the other hand relations between Japanese and natives do not necessarily date from this time. There are attempts to trace the history of Ainu-Japanese relations from mythological times because the name *Koshi no Shima* [Island of the Koshi] can be found among the "many islands" listed in the ancient chronicles. This is unsubstantial evidence. However, it is commonly held that the term *Watarishima* [Island across the water] which frequently appears in the *Saimeiiki* [Chronicle of the Empress Saimei, A.D. 654-661] represents Hokkaidō. If this identification is exact then it can be stated that by the seventh century the political power of the central government of Japan had already been extended to the island of Hokkaidō. For, in A.D. 659 Abe no Omi, on his second northeastern expedition campaigned against the Ezo in Watarishima and established a government post at Shiribeshi. It should be noted that this expedition had for its purpose the occupation of Watarishima as a foothold from which to watch and oppose the *Sukushin* (then the *Bakkatsu*) tribes which were threatening our northern boundary by advancing south along the shores of the Japan Sea.²

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[101]¹ SHS 2: 2-3 [Revised History of Hokkaidō--ANALYST]² *Sukushin* (*Su-shen*) or *Bakkatsu* (*Mo-ho*). Very old names for the Tungusic Ju-chen of the area between the Sungari River and the sea. These people dominated the continental shore of the Japan Sea in antiquity and frequently raided the northwest Japanese seacoast and the islands thereof

PART ONE

The Early Period of
CLAN GOVERNMENT

This is an example of Zoepfel's so-called, "administrative territory outside of the nation used for achieving world policy aims" and with this example our colonial activities in Hokkaidō may be said to have started. We know that this use of Hokkaidō as an outpost continued for some years for, in January of 720 during the reign of the Empress Genshō, six people including Watarishima and Tsugaru government officials were sent to Bakatsu.² There are many facts from authentic records prior to the ninth century which show that the government of Japan endeavored to appease and protect the native Ezo³ and that the powerful Ezo of Watarishima, receiving favors, often brought tribute to Kyōto.⁴ We have only one record of their rebellion in this period. A report from the Governor of Dewa in 875, during the reign of the Emperor Seiwa notes that savages from Watarishima, commanding eighty vessels, massacred and looted the farmers of the Akita and Akiumi districts.⁵ On the other hand, the record shows that in 878, during the reign of the Emperor Yōzei, when the subjugated natives of Dewa revolted, the Watarishima Ezo offered the use of their arms to

from Tsushima to Sado. Later known generally as the *Tōi*, a fact which leads to some interesting speculations, since *Tōi*, or "Eastern barbarians" was picked up from the Chinese language by the Japanese and used to denote the *Emishi* in writing. The fact that the Japanese wrote of their own aborigines with a word the Chinese used for continental peoples may illustrate nothing more than the vagaries of borrowing in languages but the long and intimate contacts of the riverine peoples of Manchuria with Northern Japan cannot be overlooked. An added clue to connections between ancient Japan and the continent lies in the connection between the Tungus of the North and the creation of the states of ancient Korea. One of these states was Shiragi and for no apparent reason the family records of the ruling clan of Hokkaidō—the Matsumae clan—are called the *Shiragi no Kiroku* or Records of Shiragi.

² *Shoku Nihongi* [The further chronicles of Japan] 8; entry under the year 720.

³ During the expedition of Abe no Omi it was thought that feasting was the best method of appeasement. We know that those who paid tribute were highly remunerated and presented with gifts. In March of 697 brocade skirts, dark red and deep purple silk, and axes were presented to an Ezo, Inarimushi, and to a Sukushin, Shirashuesō. The native policy of those days was to obtain obedience through entertainment and submission by gifts to those who paid tribute.

⁴ *Fusō Ryakuki* [Abridged history of Japan] section of August 716 during the reign of Genshō. *Shoku Nihongi*, Imperial Rescript of Kobo No. 36 during the reign of Kōnin.

Ruijō Sandai Kaku [Miscellaneous ordinances of three reigns] No. 19 in June 802 during the reign of Kammu. *Nihon Isshi* No. 111 of same date. Also *Dajōkan Fu* (Decree of the Great Council of State).

⁵ *Sandai Jitsuroku* (Authentic record of the reigns of three emperors) 27, section of November 875 during the reign of Yōzei.

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the government^a in suppressing the revolt. Facts can be listed which show that the policy of the government of Japan, in this period, was aimed not only just at taking political and economic control of the natives, but also at developing their culture and that this policy was comparatively successful.

However, when, in the middle of the Heian [794-1192] period, the control of the central government began to disintegrate, Hokkaidō was left wholly in the hands of the powerful Abe family who ruled the area as though it were a foreign land and who negated the earlier policies. The Abe also discontinued the tribute of the Ezo to Kyōto. There are practically no noteworthy historical materials on native or colonial policy for this period. More detailed materials are available only after the Matsumae gained their independence which means that in this latter period the number of mainlanders settling in Hokkaidō increased and that these immigrants enjoyed the power to engage in their individual activities. Because of the gap in historical materials the time of the beginning of the independence of the Matsumae is taken as the foundation period for the study of native policy in Hokkaidō, as distinguished from the policy toward the natives of Ōu. There are no records to show exactly when mainlanders began migrating to Hokkaidō.⁷ However, it seems that at the beginning the majority were castaways^a who were unable to return, in addition to those who came to trade and to fish and who later settled the island, and those who were exiled. Their numbers were small and their power weak and, therefore, it is probable that they were assimilated, politically and socially, into the native society and had no independent activity. In later years, to escape the perils of war and famine in Honshu and particularly in the Ōu region, the number of immigrants gradually increased and we can see a conscious and separate settlement. Nevertheless, even these later immigrants were considered as of the Ezo notwithstanding the fact that the *Suwu Daimyōjin Eshi* [SDE] and other records distinguish them from the aborigines of Hokkaidō by calling them *Watari To* [Watari group].^b

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^a Ibid. 34, section of March 878 during the reign of Yōzei.

⁷ Recent archaeological investigation has revealed many remains said to be those of the Ainu in Hokkaidō but which do not belong to the Jomon culture. Instead they closely resemble the remains of the Nara period [710-794]. See Gotō Moriichi, *Hokkaidō ni okeru kofun shutsudo no ibutsu kenkyū* (Study of the remains from old tombs in Hokkaidō), *Kokogaku Zasshi* 24 (2-3). It is probable that these remains were brought into Ezo in or about this period. SHS 2: 12-14 and 24.

^a That there were a considerable number of these can be seen from the fact that in 1688 a crew exploring the shores of the Ishikari River counted a number of castaways who had married natives and settled among them.

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^b There may be a reason for considering these immigrants as of the Ezo. Chronologically and territorially there are three distinct historical divisions of the Ezo. There are the *Koshi* who dominated much of prehistoric Japan, then the later *Kai* who dominated the Northeast, and finally the Ezo or Ainu of Hokkaidō, Karafuto, and the Kuriles. But in the days of the *Koshi* and then the *Kai* there were further distinctions. Ezo

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The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.⁹ The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].¹⁰ Therefore, as the number of im-

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who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

⁹ *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

¹⁰ *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

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migrants increased, so did their fishing areas and this clashed with the vested hunting and fishing rights of the natives. It also seems that, at first, owing to inferiority in numbers and power, the immigrants tried to avoid conflict with the natives, but as the immigrant activities increased collisions became inevitable.

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The first clash is reported as occurring in 1456 when a blacksmith of Kajimura (the present Hakodate) got into an argument with an Ezo chieftain and killed him. In revenge the aroused natives massacred the immigrants. In the following year a chieftain, by name Koshamain, attempted to assault Fukuyama. The natives were so powerful that settlement after settlement fell into their hands. The immigrants were driven out of all their bases and those who escaped from the slaughter assembled at Matsumae and Kaminokuni and, with the aid of Takeda Nobuhiro, the founder of Kakizaki power, were just able to retain a foothold. This is the turning point when the relations between immigrants and natives became serious. The record shows other incidents such as those in 1471 and 1501. During these incidents Japanese forts were either lost or damaged and the only base able to stand against the natives was that of the Kakizaki. Gradually the Kakizaki unified the Japanese on Hokkaido and grew into the dominant power on the island. In 1514 the Kakizaki after moving into Fukuyama were entrusted by the Ando with the management of Ezo affairs which, in effect, made them the real power on the island. With this power Kakizaki made a concerted effort to suppress the natives. However, disputes continued, occurring in 1515, 1525, 1529, 1531, and 1536, the natives remaining powerful and the mainlanders, who were on the defensive, resorting to such tactics as feigning peace and then striking by surprise.¹¹ But the Japanese eventually emerged as victors.

The Kakizaki were finally able to secure a sizeable area around their base of Fukuyama and, perceiving the disadvantage of continuous fighting, changed their policy to one of reconciliation and, in 1550, Suehiro, grandson of Nobuhiro, made peace with the various native tribes by offering them treasures which they cherished and thus won their favor. Suehiro appointed Hashitain from Setanai as chief of west Ezo, stationing him at Amanogawa in Kaminokuni, and Chikomotain from Shiriuchi was appointed chief of east Ezo. To both chiefs were distributed the tax levied on the merchants who came into the country. Rules were also established concerning the navigation of merchant vessels in Ezo waters. In order to show respect to these chiefs, merchant vessels were ordered to lower their sails and stop when passing off the coast at Kaminokuni and Shiriuchi.

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the old and feeble behind, went to the beaches and, together with the warriors and merchants, devoted themselves to fishing." The samurai with their families engaged in herring fishing for years after that.

¹¹ SHS 2: 57-58.

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The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

I. AINU SOCIETY

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It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

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144 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

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184 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.¹

[241] For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly² and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,³ and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

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¹ Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku* (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, *Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite* (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinnigaku Zasshi* (TJZ) 16: 398 ff.

² *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

³ Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Ainu jisei no ifuku* (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinnigaku Zasshi* (HJZ) No. 1: 5 ff.

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Those areas which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.⁴

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Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868-1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware

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although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.⁵ Bows and arrows (poison arrows and

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spring bows) along with traps constituted their only hunting weapons.⁶ In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet

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in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*⁷ and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.⁸

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These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.⁹ Canoes were

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used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three-four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated

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with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude furnishings." This condition accords with that state

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described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"¹⁰ and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

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⁴ Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezoichi Kikō* (Etorofuto Kikō). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

⁵ Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Hi Koropukkuru Ron* (The anti-Koropukkuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

⁶ John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

⁷ *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

⁸ Saisenkaï ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30-31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 47-51.

¹⁰ F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

114 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of
181 Barbarism¹¹ or according to Müller-Lyer the period
of the advance from the highest hunting stage.¹² But
the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led
a much more advanced life.

177 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north
648 they came into contact with the nomadic Orokkko and
Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence
was introduced through trade with the Santan across the
sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian
colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of
Hokkaidō.¹³ To the south the Ainu were continuously
in contact with Japanese culture.¹⁴ If it is true, as
common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To*
mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the
Ōu region,¹⁵ then the influence of Japan dates back more
than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend
to prove this.¹⁶ However, communication between the
Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before
that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen

[172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthen-
wares in Ezo regions.¹⁶ To the east the Ainu had,
from early times, been in contact with the natives of
the Kuriles and Kamchatka.¹⁷ The most dominant in-
fluence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese,
with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was
higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact
with it over a longer period of time and they were closer
to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts
with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern
regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and
even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse
influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually
improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth
completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and,
[291] while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

¹¹ Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

¹² Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslinie des Fortschrittes*.

[107] ¹³ Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokkko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, *Kita Yezo Zuesetsu* or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

¹⁴ Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shima* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

¹⁵ Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

¹⁶ Kōnō Hiromichi, *Hassabu mura no iseki hakatsū ki* (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and *Takakura Shimichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite* (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

¹⁷ *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

¹⁸ Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304-310.

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the
 291 place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-
 323 tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and
 222 Japanese manufactured goods replaced earthenware to
 the point where the method of making this ware was
 forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid
 improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by
 the improved Japanese net and the materials from which
 these nets were made changed from bark to hemp
 thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.
 It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on
 harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks
 fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the
 412 imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—
 machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more
 and more varied. Significant was the development of
 178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture
 241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.
 Only small areas were planted which yielded little and
 this little was considered a luxurious supplement to
 the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and
 by the early part of the eighteenth century the area
 under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in
 the west to Shirai in the east and agricultural products
 were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes
 over the winter.¹⁸

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,
 784 dogs played an important economic role. These dogs
 262 were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat
 297 and skin clothing during the winters. These people
 492 were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-
 fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for
 hauling and transportation.¹⁹ Here we have a people
 still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing
 techniques that were to prepare them for either an
 agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to
 their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.

439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.
 1111 small in quantity and limited in variety. After the
 infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and
 quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which
 hitherto they had used only for the production of the
 necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.

439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began
 556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,
 gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords,
 lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of
 wealth became the accumulation of these objects which
 were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium
 for the purchase of fishing grounds²⁰ and which under
 the name *Ashimpe* could be made payment for crimes
 687 in lieu of the death penalty

¹⁸ Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture),
Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū 9 (2).

¹⁹ Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zuisetsu* (A description of the
 island of Northern Ezo).

²⁰ Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend
 and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

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[583] in lieu of the death penalty²¹ and they also served as betrothal presents.²²

A village or a group of villages would possess fishing grounds in common. These were open to the free use of the members of the group but were prohibited to outsiders and violations of fishing grounds had to be compensated. In the *Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsujī Dai-Ryakuchō* [HDHS] [Great Abridged Compendium of the Laws and Other Matters of the Hokkaidō Natives] it says:

[224]
[685] In hunting or fishing, in the mountains or the sea, there was usually a boundary between districts and it was forbidden to hunt or fish in the territory of another district. In hunting, when people from Hitaka and Tokachi poached in the Ishikari region any native who apprehended them was authorized to confiscate their skins after interrogation. They were not deprived of their catch prior to questioning.

423
224 According to the native Mombetsu Urenbōku,²³

There is a boundary within which we can catch deer, bear, and fish and the natives of the village are not allowed to hunt outside their territory. If they went into other territory, they would be immediately punished.

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[175] While it may seem that the above divisions were the result of the *Basho* contract system, the fact seems to be that the *Basho* themselves were divided according to the hunting and fishing territories of the Ainu. For example, here is a judgment rendered in 1767 when the Atsuta *Basho* and the Masuke *Basho* quarreled over their boundary line, "Affairs in Ezo shall be settled according to the custom of the Ezo."²⁴ A more positive proof lies in the fact that this custom of boundaries is found in the island of Etorofu where no *Basho* was established. In *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] under the year 1809 it says,

[67] There are boundaries, both in the mountains and the sea of which the chiefs are in charge. Outside one's own boundary one is prohibited from so much as even cutting a blade of grass. In the event that one sights a group of whales he is to receive permission from the chief of the territory and the catch is to be apportioned under the orders of the chief. The law is very stringent and anyone violating it is deprived of his catch as a punitive compensation after a charge and deliberation.

423
628 The quarrels among the Ainu communities were chiefly over hunting and fishing rights. Not only were hunting and fishing grounds communally owned but the community hunted and fished as a unit. In the *Ezo Kembum Shi* [A History of Personal Experiences in Ezo] 7, there is a translation of an epic or *Yukara* (in reality an *Isotaku* or hunting legend) supposedly dictated by an Ezo from Osarubetsu which gives a vivid description of how the Ainu help each other in bear

²¹ Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Yukara Kenkyō* (Studies in *Yukara*) 2: 240.

²² Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Kyūdojin* (Aborigines), 8.

²³ *Hokkaidō Times*, June 29, 1918.

²⁴ Matsumae Hironaga, *Fukuyama Hifu Kokon Sojō-bu* (Section on Petitions, Fukuyama archives) in SHS 5: 234.

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[229] hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshige Sōrō Kakitsuki* [SECG] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore."²⁵ The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.²⁶

[476] This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they co-operated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

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[226]
[341]
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[888] There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage*²⁷ [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

[276]
[273] A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

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431 According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

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²⁵Kondō Seisai *Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

²⁶Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, *Nototorio danwa Kikigaki* (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

²⁷Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fuzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

226 relationship of the recipient with the killer of the bear.
 234 For example, the tail was given to his mother and the
 431 hip bone to his father. It was also customary to give
 1602 two shares to a pregnant relative.²⁰

423 The scope of these hunting and fishing grounds could
 226 not have been very large judging from the catch and
 224 the methods used but there were probably some that
 extended over the area of several villages judging from
 the fact that the fishing rights of Kushiro, Nemuro, and
 Akkeshi were quarreled over in terms of the *kuni*
 [province] or *gun* [district] of today.²¹ The size of
 the area differed according to the location and natural
 features. For example the Urai *Basho* weir was recog-
 nized as the place of the Tsuishikari chief Shirimauka,
 his wife, his sisters, and his descendants,²² and while in
 Abuta bear dens were still the possession of a hunting
 union, in Oshabanabe the right to the den belonged to
 the discoverer and even his fellow villagers could not
 violate his rights.²³ In agriculture there seems to have
 been no cooperation among members of a family. Title
 to agricultural land seems to have been vested in him
 who occupied the land.²⁴

423 It seems that to a certain degree there was division
 462 of labor, most apparently that between the sexes. The
 men engaged in hunting and fishing while the women
 took care of all other domestic affairs. In the *Igen*
Zokuso [Everyday Guide to the Ezo Language and
 Folklore] there is this passage: "It was the task of
 women to go to the mountains for firewood, to dig the
 roots of grass for food; to weave cloth with elm bark
 fiber and to draw water." A better description is
 found in the *Matsumae Shi* [History of Matsumae]:

All day long he would hunt in the mountains and valleys
 with his poison arrow or go out into the sea in his boat to
 fish. After which he left his catch on the beach and went
 off to entertain himself while his wife and mistress would
 haul, dry, and make dry fish and salt fish. On rainy days
 it was the woman's task to sew clothes and engage in other
 work.

438 Division of labor between groups seems to have been
 463 restricted to trading the necessities of life with each
 other. From Sakai Tadaiku's *HDHS* there is this
 example: "In Tokachi deer were abundant but there
 were no salmon in the upper reaches of the Totsubetsu
 River while there were many salmon in the Tokachi
 River. Therefore, a trade was carried on at the point

²⁰ April 30, 1933. Takakura Kikigaki.

²¹ Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nihon Chimei Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese place names), 336-337.

²² *Sapporo Kushi* (History of the Sapporo region), 252.

²³ According to Era Sotaro of Abuta, "Bears' caves belonged to the person who found them and he would mark a sign on a nearby tree. Young men were taught how to hunt bear by the old men who had many caves and the distribution of the meat was directed by the old men. When a youth reached maturity he was given some of the caves." This indicates a kind of hunting group with the old men as leaders.

²⁴ Tamura Hiroshi, *Nihon Genshi Kyōsan-ori no Kenkyū* (Studies in primitive Japanese communalism), 30.

438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact
that in some areas many stone tools have been un-
earthed while in other areas no traces of them have
been found.³³ There seems to have been no division
of labor within a group although those who were more
skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than
the others—for the benefit of the others. In the
Watarishima Hikki there is this passage, "There was
[218] much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison
[aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in
the villages with a reputation for making it." However,
aside from the distinction between the sexes, division
of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu
in the age which is under review in this book had the
various characteristics of a stage which (owing to out-
side influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had
advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(21) The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi*
361 [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo
consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than
ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of
Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a
report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in
1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses.
The average village has six or seven to eleven houses.
The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a
matter of fact, according to an investigation carried
out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into
our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages
there were none with over twenty houses, very few with
over one hundred people and, at times, there were
villages of no more than one house.³⁴ The villages were
called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu
had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gum* it seems that
their group life concept did not extend beyond the
village. Their small villages were located along the
seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and
life convenient but their dependence on natural sources
of food compelled them to change their quarters fre-
quently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi*
remarks,

Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses,
they never lived at the same place all their lives. When-
ever the game was more abundant in other parts of the
country they would abandon their houses and carry their
belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down.
Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were
places where fishing or hunting was more promising, ac-
cording to the season of the year, they did not remain in
one place, even for a year. They moved with the game
and were therefore without a permanent home.

³³ Shiota Takichi, *Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fuzoku Shūkan* (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *T/Z* 30 (206).

³⁴ *Kondō Seisui Zenshū* 1: 29.

621 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms
361 this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river.
Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they
would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where
game could be found and it seems that they never re-
mained in any one place." However, they did not
move as a nomadic people and they can be considered
migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural
people. They stayed in one place during the winter
[166] and probably moved to another area to work during
the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that
the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three
islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had
fishing areas on nearby islands.²⁵ During the winter
the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders
came across were probably secondary villages built for
the summer working season or permanent non-winter
villages. There is interesting material in the remains
of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the
Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds
of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings.
scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and
the scene resembled a large community with a common
cemetery.²⁶ In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a
third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a
description of such a village in Kunashiri.²⁷ This is all
reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics
and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure
of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence
that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today
it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the
district were of the same period. The archaeological
evidence which we do have indicating the existence of
[172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family
communities, but the villages of which we have knowl-
edge were more complicated and included, besides kins-
men, people from other villages. While a large village
had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense,
it was generally made up of more than two family
groups.²⁸ Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki*
622 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the
192 whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he
is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used
by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had sub-
mitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says:
"Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin*."

²⁵ Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

²⁶ Abe Masami, *Hokkaidō no Chashi* (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (JZ) 33: 66 ff.

²⁷ *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

²⁸ Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

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192 *nenishippa*. There were also sub-chiefs called *Shi-bankinne*. These leaders the Japanese called *Otona* and *Kosukai* respectively. The terms *Otona* and *Kosukai* have long been in use and today there are Ainu who do not recognize the word *Bankinne*.³⁹ "*Bankinneshippa*" comes from "*Dankenne Nishipa*" meaning "the leader" and "*Shibankinne*" is from "*Shi-pankenne*" which means "sub-leader." According to Batchelor's dictionary other words which mean "chief" are:⁴⁰

Ainutopake or *topake*

Ikiripake (guru)

Utara-pa or *Pa* (chief of tribe or head)

Sapaneguru or *Esapaneguru* (the person who is to become the head)

Paunguru (the person who is the head)

He lists words which have the suffix "head" such as *pa*, *pake*, *sapa*, etc. or such words as *Utara koro guru* (the person who controls *Utara*); *Aipa* (guide); *Pungineguru* (watchman).

622 The chief or *Kotan Korokuru* (the man ruling a village) of a village, which was a community of kinsfolk, was necessarily, the head of the family and *Utarapake* (head of the tribe) or the *Chisekorokuru* (head of the family) of the *Parochise* (principal family). His house was built in the center of the village and was conspicuously large. At festivals the heads of families gathered at his house and the chief, as representative,

[769] worshipped the common ancestral god.⁴¹ In a community of kinsfolk where the people are united by the concept of common ancestry and where ancestral traditions are the unwritten law, the people unite around that person in closest relationship to their ancestor. Therefore, the family line of descent was highly important and those chiefs who possessed power called themselves descendants of God.⁴² The custom of respect for a family of noble lineage is mentioned in the ancient epics.⁴³ Therefore, even the chiefs of villages respected and obeyed the chief family of their original village. This resulted in a chief who as head of a head family had power over several other chiefs and villages. The word "*Hashio*" probably refers to such a chief. The *Ezo Fudoki* [Record of Ezo customs] refers to this in the following passage: "Every village had its own chieftains. The more powerful were called *Hashio* and the less powerful were called *Otona*." In Karafuto the chief was called *Ikosabankuru* or *Ko-tankoroponnishida* and the lesser were *Kotan Sabanekuru* and until the Meiji Restoration there were six

³⁹ John Batchelor, *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary and grammar*, 3rd ed.

⁴⁰ Kindaichi Kyōsuke, section on "Ainu" in *Chiri Kōwa; Nihon ken* 1: 384.

⁴¹ Matsuura Takeshirō, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (East Ezo journal). See genealogical table of Chief Bafura of Biraga. Ouchi Hirotsada, *Higashi Ezo Yawa* (Conversations about East Ezo). See genealogical table of Menkakushi.

⁴² *Yūkaru Kenkyū* 2: 660 ff. Also *Nihon Chiri Fuzoku Taikei* sections on Hokkaidō and Karafuto.

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.⁴³ The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,⁴⁴ and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,⁴⁵ who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones.

[628] Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violators of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.⁴⁶ As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*: "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

[554] As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

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⁴³ Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuboku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.

⁴⁴ *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

⁴⁵ *SHS* 2: 303.

⁴⁶ *Hokkaido Kyudojin*, 5.

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[591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.⁴⁷ Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. However, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.⁴⁸ She could not worship God directly by herself.⁴⁹ She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.⁵⁰

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[622] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.⁵¹ The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . ." while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

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⁴⁷ *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

⁴⁸ Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Also Hokkaidō *Kyūdojin*, 8.

⁵⁰ "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a Shamo (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokumō*.

⁵¹ "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

595 five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the
[55A] man's position the more wives he had." It is well
known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen
wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in
the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru]
we find:

Those who left the village to work had a wife at each
place they stopped. However these women were wives
in name only as they were given no support for living.
Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses
or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting
these wives after which they would return to their perma-
nent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu
was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having
many wives or to the desire for many children. How-
ever, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the
prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society
and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Eso*
[768] *Shima Ki* it says, "When a man died, his wife instead
of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's
close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives
had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have re-
sulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows
as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although
those of ill character took advantage of this custom and
caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to
their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak
from old age and who realized that their daughters would
not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average
man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[558] It is true that those with many wives gained great
economic benefit from their free labor and later there
arose the custom of taking many wives simply for
the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states:
"Those who were supporting many wives were, without
exception, always wealthy."

569 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Al-
though there have been various opinions about the
exact status of the *Utare*, the *Eso Fūdoki* takes
them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*.
When in the presence of a chief they extended their
hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show
respect. During periods of mourning at their master's
house they served him food." The *Eso Sōshi* refers
to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had
many house servants called *Utare* who served heredi-
tarily. When the master went out of the village to
work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and
would help the master." The *Moshjogusa* [Vocabulary
of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants.
Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally
meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in
his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary]⁸²

⁸² Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories),
Suppl.

567 states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.³³ It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.³⁴ And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. There also existed a class of "*Usshin*" usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.³⁵

[567] Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the possession of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

184 Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

³³ *Yûkara Kenkyû* 2: 496 ff.

³⁴ In the diary of Kimura Shikyô under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Eso Zusetsu* that there were people in Sôya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

³⁵ *Yûkara Kenkyû* 2: 231, fn.

784 Ainu traditions about these.⁵⁶ To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

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[196] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine⁵⁷ who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetess]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugotachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitmeru* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.⁵⁸

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

⁵⁶ Itô Yûichi, *Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisô oyobi kanshu* (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shisô Kenkyû*, 17th ed., 26 ff.

⁵⁷ John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 242-243.

683 other, the debate would continue for two days and three
 [692] nights without food or sleep."⁵⁹ However, in most
 cases, the chief or an elder was present to render
 judgment or to propose reconciliation. Judgment was
 based on precedent and it seems that the various trials
 and tortures mentioned above served chiefly to enable
 elders to reach a decision. Trials were open to the
 public and unless the elders sitting in judgment reached
 a unanimous decision no verdict could be handed
 down.⁶⁰ Execution of punishment was not necessarily
 696 carried out by the chief but was left up to the group
 and only when a case concerned the entire village or
 could not be settled by the group was the chief called
 upon for his decision. There were no set codes of
 punishment nor were there specific penalties meted out
 for specific crimes, instead retribution was imposed
 according to precedent and custom. For example, in
 684 regard to the penalty for adultery, that crime of which
 184 we find the most frequent mention in the records,
 562 the *Tōyū Zakki* [Miscellany of a Trip to the East]
 says, "In rare occasions where there is misconduct the
 man is not punished but the woman is beaten to death
 with a club and cast into sea." While there is some
 doubt that this was the standard punishment we find
 in a report by Nagata Hosei that adulterers were
 wrapped in a straw mat and thrown off a cliff into the
 sea,⁶¹ which is a confirmation of the existence of the
 death penalty. The *Eso Zakki Yakusetsu* remarks,
 "When a married woman committed adultery her hair
 was cut off and she was made a nun," while the *Eso*
 684 *Dan Hikki* confirms the removal of the hair as punish-
 ment. "In general the law of the Ainu was not
 limited to the wife. If a man outraged a woman he was
 punished by having his hair torn out." Other cases
 seem to have been settled by fines. The *Hokkai*
Zuikitsu [Notes on the Northern Sea Area] mention
 this: "When there was misconduct treasure was or-
 dered to be given to the other party as a token of apol-
 ogy and as atonement for the crime." And in the *Igen*
Zokuwa: "It was a serious matter when a married
 woman made illicit love. It resulted in atonement and
 the submitting of a great amount of treasure." From
 the *Watarishima Hikki*: "When adultery was exposed,
 the culprits were punished by law. However, at times
 there would be an arbitration and the parties would be
 reconciled with the payment of atonement." According
 to Batchelor, cases were sometimes settled by *Ukaru*
 which will be discussed later.⁶² The *Hokuto Sanjin*
Monogatari [Hokuto Sanjin's Story] notes: "It is
 seldom that a woman will commit adultery. However,
 if it happens and becomes known to the husband he
 immediately cuts off his wife's nose. During my
 sojourn in that country I have seen only two or three

⁵⁹ Tokachi Shō Ryakusetsu.

⁶⁰ *The Ainu and their folklore*, 237.

⁶¹ Nagata Hosei, *Ainu no shikei* (Death penalty of the Ainu),
Kirin 7: 28.

⁶² *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241.

684 people without their noses." This cutting off the nose of an adulterer or adulteress is called *Etorasuke* [Etumesu?—to cut off the nose] and was in vogue until recently. We find then that punishment ranged from atonement made through property settlement to such corporal punishment as *Ukaru* and included such penalties as the loss of honor through loss of the hair or the nose. There were other penalties for minor offenses of which the *Watarishima Hikki* speaks, "As for thieves, the chief kept them tied in his house." In addition there were lashing and hanging the culprit by his hair from a beam. More serious offenses were punished by the removal of some part of the body as an ear or a finger and exile was also a punishment. This latter could be serious enough to endanger the life of the victim if the village were itself isolated either socially or geographically. Exile was a frequent judgment.⁶³ According to the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, "If someone commits a crime he is driven away from the village."

681 There seems to be no doubt that the death penalty was assessed for crime but since, according to their religious views, death in itself was not necessarily a punishment, it was executed in a merciless manner designed to make the accused suffer as much as possible before dying. For example, the eyes could be pierced by needles and the victim buried alive⁶⁴ or the tendons of the legs cut and the criminal banished to the wastelands.⁶⁵ Death was of course the outcome of these actions but was not in itself the objective of the actions taken.

Compensation was frequently called for. It was called *Tsugunai* [*Tsugunau*—to compensate] as in Japanese or sometimes *Ashinpe*. Hayashi Kingo interprets *Tsugunai* as "compensation," "atonement," or "arbitration charge," and *Ashinpe* as a minor fine,⁶⁶ but there is really no clear distinction.

[A39] Merchandise used for foreign exchange such as utensils, weapons, and swords were used for *Ashinpe*. *Ashin* is "new" and *pe* is "thing" and referred to things obtained through trade with foreigners. The scope of *Ashinpe* was very wide, it being imposed in practically all offenses. The fact that most crimes were settled by the offering of *Ashinpe* is seen in *Tōyō Ki* [Journey to the East] which says: "No matter what the crime may be if wealth is offered a life is saved from further danger," and that the other and more severe penalties were imposed only when the accused had no wealth to offer is seen in the *Esoshima Ki*, "The guilty was never sentenced to death, instead a fine would be imposed. If unable to pay the fine his beard was pulled out and he was set free." In the *Tsugaru Kibun*: "If one has committed a crime but has no treasure to offer, his life was taken." The payment of atonement came not only

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 240-241.

⁶⁴ *Kyokuboku no bessekai*, 48.

⁶⁵ *The Ainu and their folklore*, 241-242.

⁶⁶ Hayashi Kingo, *Ainu no genshi shakai* (Primitive society of the Ainu), *Dorumin* 14 (6).

681 The payment of atonement came not only
 [576] after a violation of the law but also after a violation of
 [687] manners and customs such as sitting down without
 regard to custom,⁶⁷ looking into a house through "God's
 window,"⁶⁸ speaking the name of the dead,⁶⁹ talking
 about the secrets of other people, looking at unclean
 things,⁷⁰ or disturbing a sacred place.⁷¹ *Ashinpe* was
 therefore not a mere fine but a gift used to beg pardon
 of God for in the very presenting of the gift was
 implicit an apology to God. When disputes were settled
 among persons there was no question about the distribu-
 tion of *Ashinpe*. But if the chief had acted as judge
 [622] he collected the *Ashinpe* and distributed it to the injured
 [692] party. This is described in Sakai Tadaiku's *Hokkaidō*
Junkōki [Record of a Tour of Hokkaidō] as follows:
 "When a person did wrong, he was reprimanded and
 made to atone after which he was set free. The dis-
 position of this atonement was the duty of the *Otona*."
 in the *HDHS* it is said that "the chief after passing
 judgment would collect from the guilty party wealth in
 accordance to the offense and give it to the injured
 party." The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "When an offense
 has been committed through error, the chief of the
 village would examine the case and impose a fine on the
 party to blame and present this to the other party." It
 is evident that those in power could abuse this custom
 and acquire wealth by challenging others to a *Charanke*
 over a trifle.

681 Another important method of settling disputes was
 578 a duel with clubs. This was the *Ukaru*, *U* meaning
 627 "mutually" and *Karu* meaning "to beat," the whole
 word literally being taken as to beat each other with
 clubs. The clubs were called *Shuto*. This custom was
 called *Shutouchi* in Japan and the term became cor-
 rupted to *Suzuuchi*, *Sutsuuchi*, and *Tsuchiuchi*. *Shu-*
touchi along with *Tsugunai* was an important method
 of settling disputes. The *Waterishima Hikki* notes:
 "When a matter was arbitrated between two individuals
Tsugunai was offered and if it was refused the one was
 beaten on the hip by the other with a club until he
 bled and apologized. This is called *Ukaru*." The
Hokkai Zuihitsu states: "This was used when one so

⁶⁷ *Tōkai Yatai*.

⁶⁸ Chiri Yukie trans. *Ainu Shinyō Shū* (Ainu psalms), 116-117, fn. ['God's window' was opposite the entrance and back of the altar in an Ainu house. Sacred and covered with a screen, it was a sacrilege to peep through this window through which the bear was carried into the huntsman's house.]

⁶⁹ "Without knowing that his parents and family were dead I asked him how they were whereupon tears came flowing from his eyes and greatly enraged he demanded atonement." *Waterishima Hikki*.

⁷⁰ "It is said to be the law of this country that *Tsugunai* had to be paid if one saw the vagina." *Tōi Shuran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo), vol. 2 of *Ichizatusatō* (Conversations about the land of the barbarians).

⁷¹ "They did not do any thing rude facing the sea. Therefore, if an Ezo found another urinating toward the sea he would immediately demand *Tsugunai*." *Ibid*. "A person urinated upon the grave of an Ezo's father. The Ezo was furious but the argument was settled by presenting *Tsugunai*." *Tōyō Ki*.

681resented another as to desire to take his life. An
 1518arbitrator would witness and, by agreement, each would
 629beat the others, in order to dispell the resentment.
 Criminals are also said to have been beaten in this
 fashion." In criminal cases only the guilty, of course,
 were clubbed but in those cases when no decision could
 be reached as to which of the two parties was guilty
 they were allowed to beat each other. Thus, *Charanke*
 or disputation often resulted in *Ukaru* or mutual beat-
 ing. *Ezo Shima Ki* describes it as follows: "When an
 argument developed into a fight there would be an
 agreement on a *Sutsuuchi*." That this mutual clubbing
 can be considered, as in *Ashinpe*, an expiation of crime,
 is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki* but most significantly
 in the *Igen Zokuwa* wherein it is noted: "When parties
 to an argument reach a peaceful settlement, the party
 in the wrong offers to the other *Ashinpe*, or by *Ukaru*
 both parties beat each other after which they resume
 their friendship. This was the custom of the Ezo."
 The *Ezo Shima Kikan* [The Wonders of Ezo] rein-
 forces this observation: "In those cases where *Ukaru*
 is wanted instead of wealth, a meeting of the families
 of the two parties is held and the person held to commit
 the offense is beaten first three times with a mallet after
 which he beats the other party. If, after the beating,
 both parties are uninjured it is considered then that
 there was no need for atonement."

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Ukaru was then not merely a punishment. This
 can be seen partly by the fact that both parties to the
 dispute beat each other and, often, came out unharmed.
 It can also be seen from the *Ezo Sangyō Zushetsu* [De-
 scription of the Industries of Ezo] that *Ukaru* was not
 only used to settle disputes but was also used in cases
 of unnatural death, the death of parents, epidemics and
 in weather rites, all of which indicates that *Ukaru* was
 also a method for driving off evil spirits. Since *Ukaru*
 settled disputes and since there were always disputes it
 was important for the men to be in constant training for
Ukaru. This training took the form of sports as seen
 in detail in the *Ezo Dan Hikki* and the *Tōyū Zakki* and
 is the same ceremony which was performed, in con-
 junction with dances, for the Japanese inspectors. The
 definition of *Ukaru* given by Batchelor in his *Ainu-
 English-Japanese Dictionary* "a game of beating each
 524other with clubs" was meant in this latter sense and a
 weakening of its use in the regulation of Ainu society
 is evident in that *Ukaru*, originally sacred, became a
 game. It should also be noted that the removal of
 hair and beard was far more than a symbolic punish-
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 7826ment, for the Ainu had especial respect for their hair
 and believed that a part of their life force lay in it,
 and in addition the removal of it was no doubt a
 torturous thing. The settlements of disputes and the
 punishments inflicted on violators so far mentioned
 were rarely used within the village as intra-village peace
 was well maintained. The necessity for their use arose
 in intervillage quarrels where the social regulatory

[681] power of the village was insufficient to cope with the
 [627] problem. This is discussed in *Eso Miyage* in part as
 follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would
 act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties
 come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering
 goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes
 [692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

[105] The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were
 beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as
 [1462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead com-
 paratively advanced and included division of labor.
 Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and
 [241] fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural
 [233] or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign
 trade as the family became an economic unit and the
 [439] communal economy of village life dissolved. In the
 [622] regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the
 [627] Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk
 evolving into a local organization. The original state
 of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a
 small number of families centering around the chief
 family, all of which originated, presumably, from a
 common couple. Each family was led by the head of
 that family while each group of families was headed by
 an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head
 family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was
 [361] most convenient. When the number of people in a
 village group increased in excess of the number that
 could be supported by their local production the group
 [1162] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as
 a new group or groups to other parts of the country.
 As the geographical scope widened, the relation between
 [628] the mother village and the scattered villages became
 less intimate and each village tended to take on more
 of a local color and less of that of the parent village.
 At the same time it became more difficult to control a
 village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so
 that a leader needed more than lineage. During this
 period it seems to me that the most significant event
 among the Ainu was their growing contact with out-
 siders especially trade relationships. Contact with out-
 siders not only introduced more highly developed
 [556] methods of production but made possible the accumula-
 tion of wealth. Those superior in trade or production
 gradually became economically dominant and an im-
 balance of wealth replaced the old communal life.
 [464] Those with large families, having the greatest labor
 [622] supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly
 true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following
 passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

[105] Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
 [421] members of her family become members of the chief's
 family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
 [592] support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting,
 [556] fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private prop-
 erty among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

105 tresses had so many more people to work for them that
421 they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties
556 in trading, to control large amounts of property. The
rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich]
while those who possessed nothing and worked for
others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and
were despised.⁷² Those who could extend their bene-
volence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those
unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position.

105 The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan*
554 *Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū*
565 called "The song sung by the God of owls himself,
[557] around the silver drops."⁷³ This new leader took the

105 place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and
629 economic power although he was obliged to have
proper blood relationships.⁷⁴ Since the chief had to
stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a
necessary requirement for chieftom. The *HDHS* ...
says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with
both wealth and virtue would treat men and women,
old and young from neighboring countries with millet
wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking
[213] to the gods].

Regulations came more and more to be based on
actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the commu-
nal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and
the chief had no power of control over each individual
except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the
head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone
else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Eso Zakki Yakusetsu*,
written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four
servants to serve him." The heads of other families

[627] in the village were entitled to settle their own family
affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village
chief and the approval of the chief was called for only
when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk.
Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a
[623] general village conference where the chief was only one
of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the

more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those
with a large number of relations should extend their
power over several villages and the pressure from the
Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union
from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power
among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a
nation because their economy never developed to the
point where it could support a permanent political
organization and when they did acquire, from the Jap-
anese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the
Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political
control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt
to form a small primitive nation came to nothing.

000 For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

⁷² *Yūkaru Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.

⁷³ *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.

⁷⁴ Matsumoto Nobuhiro, *Aino Potorachi*, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

Early Japan AB3 For example,

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105 look at the region along the Ishikawa River
69 before the events of 1669 and at the Akkeshi, Kitami,
[175] and Nemuro regions before 1789. Here we find not
individual isolated villages but groups of villages united
by powerful chiefs. Yet because these chiefs did not
have sufficient economic power and because the village
groups were divided into smaller economic units owing
to their small scale hunting and fishing the coalitions
found here died out once the chiefs who had united them
lost their power. The main reason for the conquest of
the Ainu by the Japanese is not merely the difference in
culture but the failure of the Ainu to form an effective
union.

II. THE WAR OF 1669

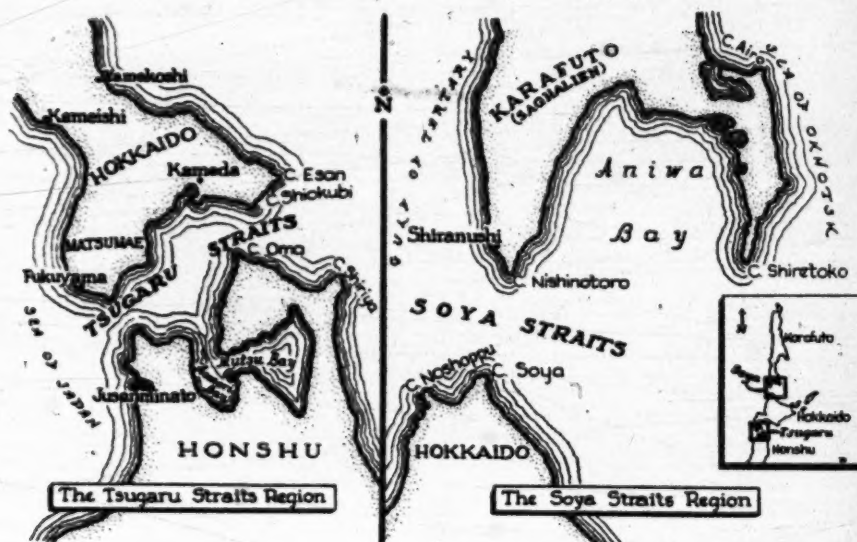
1. DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE-EZO RELATIONS

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*195 The power of the Japanese in Hokkaidō at the time
*648 the Matsumae fief became independent was negligible.
[563] Industry was confined to seasonal work and the Japanese
in Hokkaidō lived within forty to fifty miles of
the coast between Kameda and Kumaishi. The rest of
the island was occupied by the Ezo and was called
Shamo Chi or *Matsumae Chi*. As the Matsumae stabilized
their power they forbade Japanese to live in
Ainu territory and also interdicted Japanese territory
to the Ainu, except for those already resident there.
This system was introduced because intermingling of
the two people had always led to trouble. The boundary
was established at the line Kameda-Kumaishi at which
two places guardhouses were set up. This division did
not sever the Japanese-Ainu relationship, however. As
the Matsumae became an independent clan the number
of their retainers increased and so did their expenses.
*195 What with building forts, the *Sankin Kōtai** and the
*648 general expense of maintaining a dignified clan position
614 the Matsumae could hardly support themselves from the
revenues of their own territory. They naturally cast
an eye at the abundant resources in the land of the Ezo.
But at this period their power was only sufficient to
maintain their own lands against the powerful Ezo.
Not only was the conquest of Ezo territory hopeless,
but the economic infiltration of that area by immigrants
seemed an impossible task. The only solution was for
the Matsumae to maintain friendly relations with the
Ainu and through the Ainu themselves to make use of
Ainu resources.

500 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are trade

* *Sankin Kōtai* was a hostage system whereby the Tokugawa Government hoped to insure the loyalty of its feudatories. The lords were obliged to reside alternately in their domains and at Edo and when not in Edo to leave their families there as hostage. The Matsumae, owing to their distance from the capital, their lack of participation in Japanese politics, and their frontier situation, had to visit the capital only once every five years, did not have to reside at Edo that fifth year, nor were their wives and children compelled to stay at Edo the intervening four years. That the cost of performing only a small part of the duties demanded from every other great lord of Japan was excessive to Matsumae is one indication of his small income.

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[p.24(A)]

[p.24 (B)]

E
A
*175 Theoretically, peaceful economic relations are Trade
*648 relations of benefit to both parties. Therefore, the
439 relationship between the Matsumae and the Ainu started
as a trade relationship which was, in effect, an extension
of the Ōu relationships. Some students of economics
maintain that there exists among barbarian peoples one
stage in which there is no trade with other peoples.
Yet, as far as we know, the Ezo have always traded with
neighboring peoples using for that purpose canoes
propelled by mat sails and paddles. Trade across
Tsugaru strait between Japan and Hokkaidō started
quite early. The SDE vol. 3 written in 1356, says that
the Ezo living near Matsumae "Went out to trade at
the ports of Tsugaru in the Ōu region." Tosa in Tsu-
garu (an auxiliary naval port located at the mouth
of Tosa Bay in Tsugaru) was the center of trade be-
tween the mainland and Hokkaidō. It was the largest
seaport in Ōu with ships from both Ezo and the capital
of Japan going in and out the harbor. The importance
of this port in the Ezo trade is testified to not only by
the *Tosa Ōrai*¹ [Tosa Courier] but by the legend "On
Zōshi Shima Watari" in the *Otogi Zōshi*² of the Ashi-
kaga period which holds that the Ushiwaka Maru set

¹ Fukushi Sadazō, *Tsugaru Tosa Meisho Ki* (A record of notable places in Tosa, Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū* 1: 51-52.

² *Otogi Zōshi* is a collection of popular folk and fairy stories which circulated in the period 1300-1600. *On Zōshi Shima Watari* is a legend of the escape of Minamoto Yoshitsune to Hokkaidō.

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sail from Tosa for Ezo.² There are many records after this date containing notices of Ezo vessels putting into Akita and Tsugaru to trade. In a letter dated February 20 of the year 1565 written by the Jesuit Missionary Father Luis Frois to a Father in India³ there is mention of the Ezo coming to trade at Akita and the Spaniard Sebastiano Vizcaino⁴ who explored the Northern seas in 1611 reported that during the months of July and August the Ezo came to Japan to trade. As the Japanese encroached on the Ainu, the center of trade between the two people crossed Tsugaru straits and came to rest in the Watarishima area. After the Ezo incidents of the period 1455-1457 had been settled, the number of merchant vessels putting into Ezo steadily increased. They were after fish, fur, and game and as trade increased so did the number of market centers. Esashi, Matsumae, and Hakodate were the most active trade centers with the trade itself penetrating deep into Ezo.⁵ On the east coast a trade post was established

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² *Ainu Kenkyū*, 336.

³ Murakami Naojirō trans., Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin (Correspondence of Christians in Japan) in *Ikoku Soshō* 1: 192. Frois wrote this letter after learning of the visit of the ancestor of the Matsumae (Kakizaki) to the Andō clan at Hiya in Akita.

⁴ Murakami Naojirō trans., Bisukaino Kinginto tanken Hōkoku (The report of the expedition of Vizcaino to the Gold and Silver Islands) in *Ikoku Soshō*, 113.

⁵ "At that time (when the Matsumae moved to Fukuyama) there were no officials on duty nor were there visits from foreign vessels."

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at Akkeshi in 1624 while on the west coast during the same year Japanese merchant ships could be found at Sōya.⁶ Before the revolt of 1669 the number of ships that visited Ezo, including the eastern and western coasts, was fifty-five,⁷ and the average number of ships per year for both eastern and western coasts is set at thirty-five to thirty-six.⁸ The *Shotoku Gonen Matsumae Shima no Kami Mōshiage* [SGM] [A Report by the Lord Matsumae in the Year 1715] says that in the days of Kimihiro a vessel was sent to Karafuto, a practice later stopped.⁹ The advance of the Japanese meant a retreat for the power of the Ainu. These people who had once gone over to Akita or Tsugaru to trade, bringing with them their own products or goods obtained from trading with other peoples, were now confined to a small area for trading. In the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* [History of the Unification of Tsugaru], vol. 10, it is noted that in 1670 a spy from the Tsugaru clan who had been sent to Ezo to investigate rumors of a rebellion there had in the previous year gone to the western coast of Ezo and talked to the natives. He reported that the Ainu made comments such as: "Our ancestors used to go to the Takaoka castle site of the Tsugaru clan to trade" and because of the ill treatment from the Matsumae, "Should we appeal to the Lord of Takaoka or should we go secretly to Takaoka and trade again?"—comments which indicate that the Ezo of this region were used to travel to and from the Tsugaru region. Since from the point of view of the Japanese the trade had political significance (under the name of tribute) the Matsumae clan came to monopolize the trade. That just prior to the time the Matsumae became an independent clan many Ainu traded with them is shown by the *Shiragi no Kiroku* [Genealogy of the Matsumae Family] entry of 1590,

Enactment of Regulations for the Conduct of Barbarian Merchant Vessels . . . barbarian merchant vessels coming from the west must lower their sails off the coast of Amano Kawa, heave to, and after showing their respect proceed

vessels. Only one or two merchant vessels came from southern Tsugaru but since there were only a few fishermen's houses the crew, having no sailors' inns to go to would sleep at the houses of the retainers and as soon as their business was over would sail away. Later, as the land came under the control of the Matsumae, the number of ships and houses increased." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

⁶ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 125.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁸ "Numbers and sizes of vessels. No restrictions for navigation placed on either Japanese or barbarian ships. Number of vessels as follows: Each year merchant vessels to Kaminokuni number 35-36 and those to Shimanokuni also number 35-36." *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10.

⁹ "At the time of great-grandfather Shima no Kami (Kimihiro who succeeded to the estate in 1608 and died in 1641) a vessel was sent to Karafuto but this was later discontinued" (Report from the Lord of Matsumae in 1715). "At the time of the late lord a boat was sent from a place called Sannai in Sōya to Utsushamu in Karafuto but unable to proceed farther returned. Another vessel was sent the following year." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

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on their voyage, while barbarian merchant vessels coming from the east must lower their sails off the coast of Shiriuchi, heave to and after showing respect may proceed.

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In June of 1615 forty to fifty vessels arrived at Matsumae from Menashi with cargoes of sea-otter skins. As the Japanese came more and more to Ezo to trade and as the Ainu were prohibited from coming to Matsumae, the protection of the interests of the feudatories was assured by moving the trade center inland, and the commerce which had formerly been carried on at these distant centers between the Ainu and other northern peoples was slowly taken over by the Japanese, while Matsumae, Hakodate, and Esashi became secondary trade centers. The Matsumae increased their power by using these new trade centers as the base of their activities. The power of the Matsumae began to flourish with the suppression of the Ainu in the Watari-shima peninsula. It increased as they monopolized the Ainu trade and as they gained the right to collect taxes from merchant vessels. When, in 1516, Kakizaki Yoshihiro received control of Hokkaido from the Ando clan, he also received the right to impose taxes in the form of an annual stipend on merchant vessels and on travelers from other countries. This was certified in January of 1593 by a red seal edict of Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued at Nagoya in Hizen, "Taxes on vessels may be imposed as this has long been the practice." Broader powers as follows were granted in 1604 by a black seal edict of Tokugawa Ieyasu:

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1. It will be unlawful for those who come to Matsumae to trade with the Ezo without the permission of the Lord of the Island.
2. Those who do engage in trade without the permission of the Lord of the Island are to be reported at once.

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The Lord of Matsumae not only enjoyed the power of taxing vessels and travelers but he also monopolized the Ezo trade and this latter item was the economic foundation of his clan. Other financial props of the Matsumae clan were:

1. Taxes imposed on residents in their territories.
2. "Okiguchi Yakusen" [entrance and clearance duties levied on ships and travelers from other areas].
3. Taxes imposed on the gold mines of Ezo.
4. Proceeds from the sale of hawks.

A record from 1669 in vol. 10 of the *Tsugaru Ittoshi* demonstrates the basic importance to the clan of the Ezo trade:

Account of the Matsumae Treasury

From the profits of the clan fleet of
8-9 vessels 1000-2000 ryō
From the sale of hawks 1000-2000 ryō
From taxes levied on farms, foreign
vessels and travelers in excess of 600 ryō

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These items constituted the revenue of the clan chief and while not inclusive of the tax receipts from gold mines gave a fair idea of sources. After 1672 the proceeds from hawk sales and the gold-mine taxes fell off so that the continually prospering Ezo trade became the main source of Matsumae income. After the clan became independent the stipends of their followers, the number of whom was increasing, were, as in other clans, in the form of rice allotments but unlike other clans the Matsumae gave rice stipends only to the lower retainers. The higher retainers were called *Bashomochi* [estate holders] for they received as stipend a part of the clan land or else they acquired a *Chigyōsho* [tenure] in one of the many *Basho* [estates] into which the Ezo territories were divided. Since these estates were located in unfriendly areas and yielded no income from products of the soil the right of the *Bashomochi* in his tenures was merely the privilege of trade monopoly in the area. This was then a distribution [in rem] to retainers of the right of monopoly held by the Matsumae which right and distribution was recognized by the Bakufu.

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This stipendary estate system, generally called *Basho* or *Akinaiba* [trading zone], was established during the period 1596-1614.¹⁰ The boundaries grew gradually. Some were the size of our present gun or even kuni. Exploitation of the *Basho* was not limited to trade alone. There were gold mining, hawk roosts, abundant salmon, trout, and timber. However, these were directly controlled by the clan lord and without his explicit permission could not be exploited. So the living expense of those who had the right of *Bashomochi* was obtained directly from the trade which, in the beginning, was managed directly, in each *Basho*, by the clan or by the estate owner.

Every spring merchant ships from various countries came to Matsumae and the clan or the estate owner would take trade goods from these ships, put them on smaller boats, and proceed to their respective estates. These small boats called *Nawa-Tojibune* [roped ships] had a capacity of about 300 koku. They were canoes with thick boards fastened to their sides with birch fibre, there were no nails, and they were able to take shelter in the numerous small inlets of the coast. These canoes indicate a small scale trade. The trading post of each *Basho* was set up at the spot where it was convenient both for the Ainu to gather and for a small boat to beach. At these posts the Ainu traded the goods which they had accumulated during the year either by their own efforts or through trade with other tribes. Prior to the establishment of permanent trading posts business was carried on aboard the canoes or in temporary huts or even in Ainu huts. Either the owner of the *Chigyōsho* or his representative was on the trading boat and in the sense that the *Chigyōsho* owner was looking after the Ezo in his area the trip

¹⁰ Hokkaidō Shi 1: 125.

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was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Eso Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region." Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishinu* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Eso Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.¹¹

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¹¹ *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

¹¹ Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

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The chief characteristics of a commercial colony are its impermanence and the lack of political disputes between the governors and the governed. This is particularly true when the colony is not a market for the surplus goods of the homeland but is established in order to exploit the products of the colonial area. The Matsumae, in their early period, did not, as has been mentioned, rely on military power but achieved their purpose with the natives by peaceful means—by the development of trade and transportation which was financially vital to the clan. It was therefore not necessary for the weak Matsumae clan to attempt to control the powerful Ezo but merely to maintain a peaceful economic relationship. To achieve this aim it was more needful to impose regulations on the Japanese than on the Ainu and the Matsumae consistently avoided quarrels with the natives by establishing a boundary between the two peoples and by prohibiting Japanese from entering Ainu territory. A decree of Hideyoshi says, in part: "Crews and merchants coming to Matsumae from other countries shall treat the Ezo as their own people and refrain from doing them injustice," while in a decree from the Bakufu to the Matsumae the clan is thus enjoined: "Injustice to the Ezo shall be strictly forbidden." The attitude of the Matsumae themselves can be seen in the injunction observed by that clan since the days of Yoshihiro: "To govern without the use of force." With the exception of those natives who lived in Matsumae territory or who, living very close to it, intermingled with Japanese, no regulations were imposed on the Ainu, they being treated as equals although foreigners. They kept their own customs, used their own language, lived in their own society under chiefs elected by them, observed their own rules, and were independent of the Matsumae power. The Matsumae sent no officials into Ezoland and although the *Chigyōnushi* [*Chigyō* proprietor] or his representative crossed into aboriginal territory they remained in that territory only long enough to conduct trade and returned on the completion of their business. There was then no political relationship between the Japanese and the natives. This situation is well described in the words of Hafukase, a powerful chief of Ishikari to a delegate of the Matsumae during the Ezo war of 1669: "Lord Matsumae and I, the chief of the Ishikari, have nothing to do with each other. I will not interfere with the affairs of the Matsumae, so let the Lord Matsumae not interfere with affairs of ours."¹² The only action the Matsumae took when disputes arose among the powerful chiefs was to send a delegate to mediate. But the continued development of trade induced a political relationship and as their economic strength grew so did the influence of the Matsumae over the natives. In regions such as Ishikari, where food was abundant and trade with the Japanese not extensive, the power of Japanese mer-

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¹² Tsugaru Ittoshi 10 and Sapporo Kushi, 182.

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cantile capital had less influence and the local people could say: "It does not matter whether merchants come to trade. From early days the Ezo have gone without rice or sake. The only necessities are fish and deer while deerskin furnishes clothing. Therefore, there is no need for merchant vessels."¹³ These people were well off but in the Matsumae area where game was scarce and trade played an important role in daily life and where merchant capital was so influential if no ship came for a year the people cried, "Not a single vessel has come for a whole year and we are starving"¹⁴ —in these areas the Japanese came to exert great power and often, for selfish purposes, became oppressors. Gradually the land of Ezo became more and more of a colony. That exploitation typical of a colony, that is unjust profit gained by fraud and monopoly and the taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of the natives, became more and more obvious.

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1. While the center of trade was moving more and more into native areas the natives were still moving about freely and trading where they wished. While there was still recognized the admonition of Tokugawa Ieyasu to Matsumae Yoshihito, "The Ezo shall be free to live wherever they choose," the establishment of the *Basho* system by forcing the Ezo to go to certain areas to trade was making the trade monopoly of the *Chigyōnushi* more effective. There is an earlier indication of this trend in a regulation addressed to the Commissioner at Kumaishi prior to 1691: "Should the Ezo bring goods to trade for rice the goods shall be examined and confiscated and the Ezo sent back. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to trade."¹⁵ Except in special cases the natives were forbidden to come to Matsumae and engage directly in trade. This was an effective limitation of the trading area and an indirect channeling of the trade toward the vessels of the *Chigyōnushi*. Maki Tadaemon, the Tsugaru spy already mentioned, wrote in his report that the natives told him, "We are strictly forbidden to go to Matsumae and we are starving," and he indicates that they wanted to go, in secret, to trade at Takaoka. The Ezo then did not like this trade system.¹⁶

2. The main reason for any relationship of the Matsumae with the Ainu lay in trade profits. This profit should have been made by a fair trade with both the natives and the Japanese merchants. But it was too easy to deceive the ignorant natives. That trade monopoly, originally established to protect the natives and which was termed *Kaihō*, lost its original intent and the quality of merchandise was adulterated or crooked scales were used to increase the profits. This became more the situation as the Japanese grew in strength in

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Report of Maki Tadaemon on the statement of the Yoichi Ezo.

¹⁵ *Fukuyama Hifu* 24. Seisatsu narabi ni jōkō (Notices and stipulations) *SHS* 5: 201.

¹⁶ *Tsugaru Ittoshi* 10. *Sapporo Kushi*, 173.

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the island. The same Maki Tadaemon reported as being told,

Lord Matsumae's methods of trade are unfair. We are obliged to buy rice in sacks containing only seven or eight sho where they used to contain two to. Furthermore, if one bundle of shells is found to be short the next year he charges twenty bundles for it and if one is unable to produce them, his child is taken for ransom. Since all is carried out in the same manner it is a great hardship on the people of Bikuni.¹⁷

The chieftains of Yoichi, Sōya, and Riishiri had this to say: "It used to be that the rice from Matsumae came in two to sacks now they contain only seven or eight sho and they force us to continue trading on the same terms. In other matters they are also most unreasonable."¹⁸ The chief of Shirafuka adds his complaint:

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During the time of the Lord of the Island (probably Yoshihiro) trading conditions were one sack of rice containing two to for five bundles of dried salmon. Recently they have started to give us only seven or eight sho of rice for the same amount of fish. Since we people have no power of refusal we are obliged to do as they please.¹⁹

The Ezo were obliged to give their five bundles of salmon (100 fish) for a lesser quantity of rice for the simple reason that they were unable to trade with anyone else.

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3. Originally the *Chigyōnushi* traded only with the Ezo but as time passed the Japanese from Japan, who had originally gone to Ezo only to trade, engaged in hunting and fishing. The reason for this was that the productive capacity of the Ezo was too low to allow for a profitable trade only on the basis of what the Ezo had to offer. Now, while it is doubtful whether the Ezo conceived of sea fishing as their peculiar privilege, they did have the monopoly of fishing in streams and lakes, a right recognized by the Matsumae²⁰ and it was only natural for them to feel their rights violated when the Japanese came into their territory to fish. The valuable Maki Tadaemon is again our informant. The chief of Shirafuka complained to him:

Recently merchants have come from Matsumae for *Aji* [salted salmon]. They cast huge nets in our rivers and the salmon they catch are taken to the mainland for sale. We have complained to them saying that if they catch all the fish there will be none left for us and we would be bereft of a means of making a living. They answer us by saying that we want too much and they remind us that this territory is the estate of the Matsumae and they even beat us. To make matters worse they bought the salmon we caught at a very low price.²¹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 173-174.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁰ "Ainoma," the right to the River, was given to the Ezo Chihorokai. "Kennichi," the autumn mackerel, was given to the Chief of the Ezo. *Matsumae Zuishō Roku* (Records of Matsumae trade).

²¹ *Sapporo Kushi*, 174.

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Unable to bear this, the Ezo appealed to Matsumae himself, but their appeals were not heeded and they were punished for breaking the law. Again Maki Tadaemon:

As the situation grew worse Kekushike, a chief of the Yoichi, although past seventy years of age, went to Matsumae to see the Lord and to appeal. However, he was badly treated and visited with all sorts of punishments for coming to a place forbidden to him and he was barely able to return to the Ezo. He was furious and determined to rally the natives for a war but some of his friends opposed his plans and he finally relinquished them.²²

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Now at first the Japanese had engaged only in trade and the vessels sent to the various *Basho* by the feudal lords had been limited to one ship per *Basho* during the summer trading season. But as the trade increased it became possible to receive from the clan chief additional permits under the excuse of establishing new fishing industries for mackerel, trout, or sea cucumber and the payment for these permits enabled two to three boats to make the trading visit,²³ or when there was great profit in hawks many hawk hunters were sent.²⁴ When, in 1631, gold was discovered in Ezo, alluvial mining was permitted for a fee and numerous miners crossed over to the island, and by 1635 mining had spread as far as Hidaka and Tokachi.²⁵ Thus, the number of Japanese in Ezo increased and so did the length of their stay. It was under such conditions that the conduct of the Japanese became unbearable and, since these Japanese were not strictly regulated, much ill feeling appeared on the part of the natives some of whom wanted to take advantage of the situation to regain their independence. The Matsumae did not police the Japanese and they now permitted anyone to go into Ezo territory as long as there was no infringement of monopoly or existing industries and as long as they paid their taxes and fees.²⁶ About the only enforced prohibition was the one forbidding the transfer of any weapons to the natives.²⁷

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Discontent with this system was the reason for rebellion of Chief Henuke of Setanai in 1644 and for the general rebellion of 1669 participated in by all the Ezo from Shiraoi to Shiranuka on the east coast and

²² *Ibid.*, 173.

²³ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 126.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 141-142.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 148-151.

²⁶ According to the *Kirishitan Senketsu Issō* (Testimony of Christian martyrs), the reason why "Karuburiyo" [Fr. Carvalho] was able to enter Matsumae territory and engage in missionary work was that he had received a permit as a gold miner. (Written by Matsuzaki Minoru), 309.

²⁷ During the fifth generation of Izunokami (Yoshihiro) among the goods taken to Ezo for trade was armor. However, this was prohibited during the period of Shimanokami (Kimihiro). *Ezo Dan Hikki*, "Iron goods were strictly regulated by the Matsumae in the Ezo trade. Knives with steel blades were strictly forbidden." *Tōyō Zakki in Kinsei Shakai Keizai Sōsho*, No. 12: 160.

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from Utasutu to Masuke on the west coast. The direct cause of the revolt of 1669 was a dispute over the fish and game grounds along the Niikappu River between the Ezo of Shibuchari River and those in the region of the Saru River. When the Matsumae refused to do anything about the dispute, aside from sending a delegate to mediate, the Saru River natives became deeply disaffected because they had depended on the Matsumae to solve the difficulty while, on the other hand, the Shibuchari natives despised Matsumae for his supineness in the matter. In 1668 Onibishi, chief of Saru, was killed by Shakushain, chief of Shibuchari, the great Ezo revolt for independence started, and in the following year they massacred the merchants and raided their vessels as well as the ships of the hawk masters. At the same time messages were sent all over the island and the remainder of the discontented Ezo joined the revolt and the massacres. In eastern Ezo eleven boats were attacked and 120 people (including 2 samurai) killed; in western Ezo 8 vessels were attacked and 153 people (including 2 samurai and 3 hawk masters) were killed—a total of 19 vessels and 273 persons. This incident was a shock to the Japanese on the mainland. However, the rebellion sprang from a poorly organized people who had only poison arrows as weapons while the troops sent against them had firearms. In addition, many Ezo were faced with economic difficulty because of the forced cessation of the trade. In 1669 chief Shakushain was killed and his main force defeated after which punitive expeditions were sent against the other tribes. The Matsumae, sending troops to Yoichi (1670), Shiraoi (1671), and Kunnui (1672), made the Ezo render compensation and sign the following pledge:

1. All orders from the Lord, regardless of their nature, will be observed by us, our offspring, and Utare (kinsfolk) regardless of sex.

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2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering this country will be taken care of.

3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

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6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

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Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.²⁸

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

²⁸ In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaido Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hoki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

III. THE REVOLT OF 1789

1. GROWTH OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACT SYSTEM
AND THE CHANGE IN EZO ECONOMIC
RELATIONS

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The Japanese who came to have an advantageous position over the Ezo after the 1669 incident profited further by the great change in the Ezo industrial system brought about by this very incident. This was due to the growth of the *Basho* contract system for trade previously carried on by the clan or by *Chigyōnushi*, now passed into the hands of merchants called *Basho* contractors. The basis of the Matsumae economy lay in the Ezo-Japanese trade because, unlike other Japanese clans who could rely on agriculture, the Matsumae inhabited a land not suited for agriculture. The clans in Japan were dominated by farmers who had acquired control by force while in Matsumae territory it was the merchants who acquired power by force. But while the Matsumae merchants were superior to the local hunters and fishers in power and ability they were, in comparison with the mainland merchants, merely local small time traders. The mainland market where goods for the Ezo trade were bought and sold was dominated by the merchants of Central Japan. Thus the Matsumae were not go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland markets, but just go-betweens in the trade between the Ainu and the mainland merchants. The relationship between the *Chigyōnushi* and the mainland merchants may have started as a commercial one in which goods were bought and sold for the Kyōto-Ōsaka regional market, but as the mainland merchants invested more capital in the trade and as the Central Japan traders began to operate branch offices in Hokkaidō, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, the Matsumae clan became dependent upon these merchants. The natives borrowed capital and a year's supply of food from these traders and paid off in whatever game they caught.¹ The *Chigyōnushi* did the same in that they borrowed from the merchants not only necessary capital for the Ezo trade but also the money needed for an entire year's operation and they repaid the merchants from what they earned in the native trade.² With the rise in the standard of living of the samurai plus the cunning of the mainland merchants, the *Chigyōnushi's* debts increased until the Ezo trade fell into the hands of these traders from Japan. Under the name of *Basho* contractors they paid a certain sum in taxes or money for the privilege

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[426] ¹ "People from local areas were eager to borrow any amount of gold, silver, rice, salt, etc., to employ a crew and hire a boat. After the February equinox they would fish and the catch would be sent to the creditors, who, in a body, would price the hauls." *Tōyūki* (Record of a trip to the East).

[439] ² "Income from the land was not grain or fish but credit from the merchants with whom the price of land use had been set as 100 or 200 kin for a given area. No money changed hands but daily necessities were supplied by the merchants." *Chihoku Gadan* (The northern allegory).

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of trade, and the formerly dominant *Chigyōnushi* became a class reliant on the collection of these tolls and taxes for their income. Those *Chigyōnushi* who were not in debt also found the *Basho* system advantageous for they now received steady remuneration from capable and wealthy merchants and were themselves relieved of depending on the risk of trade. It is not clear when this change took place except that it was during the time of Matsumae Norihiro as seen in the *Matsumae Ezo Ki* [Record of Ezo under the Matsumae]: "Recently fishing in Ezo has been very poor and even though smaller numbers of vessels are sent they show no profit. Therefore, arrangements have been made to have one ship represent several interests. There are some who have permitted merchants to take over their *Basho* and they collect taxes from these merchant vessels." By the time of Suehiro not only the *Chigyōsho* of the clan members but also those directly under the head of the clan had been taken over by contractors who now operated the entire Ezo trade.³

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There is a theory that this process corresponded to what happened in Japan where the downfall of feudalism was accelerated by the invasion of commercial capital and that therefore it is a necessary concomitant of the collapse of feudalism.⁴ However, as long as feudalism is defined as "a social system based on the interrelationships of land ownership during a stage of early agricultural techniques,"⁵ it is not possible for the condition of the Matsumae clan, whose lands had not even entered the agricultural stage, to be compared with the stable conditions which existed in Japan. Furthermore, the feudal power of the Matsumae was, economically speaking, limited to such a small area that it was impossible for their samurai to enjoy the benefits of an exploiting class. The criticism that arose later, that the Matsumae followers did not act as warriors should, was not because they became merchants as happened in other clans, but because they had never really been samurai to start with. So the growth of the contract system did not entail the fall of the samurai of the Matsumae. Economically speaking, the samurai became a separate and a totally parasitic class. During the latter part of the Tokugawa period when all the economic activity of Japan fell into the hands of the merchant class the Matsumae clan underwent the same process but it was not the growth of the *Basho* system that eliminated the Matsumae samurai as a class. It should be understood that the Ezo trade was not carried on by merchants

³ Sugano Kazutaro, *Shonin no gyogyōka kau* (The transformation of merchants into fishing industrialists), *Hikone Kōshō Chōsa Kenkyū* (Hikone commercial higher school studies), No. 8.

⁴ Shirayama Tomomasa, *Matsumae Ezochi Basho Ukeoi Seido Kō* (Some consideration on the Matsumae Ezo Basho contract system), *Keizai Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in economic history), No. 28.

⁵ "Kaizōsha" in *Shakaika Daijiten* (Dictionary of social science), 1068.

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only after the *Basho* system developed, for indeed merchants had been operating in Ezo from an early date. Note that in the war of 1669 the number of samurai attacked by the natives was very small and that, while the *Chigyōnushi* were the entrepreneurs of the Ezo trade, the actual operations were carried on by merchants, either through consignment or as employees, and these merchants gradually became the entrepreneurs. These contractors obligated to pay a certain fee called *Unjōkin* had the right to certain trade monopolies within the *Chigyōsho* and their name of *Basho* contractor probably arose from their obligation to pay as *Unjōkin* a fixed amount of the profits from the *Basho*. The majority of these *Basho* contractors were traders or fishermen from Japan who were permitted to engage in trade after signing a guarantee which stipulated the terms and amount of *Unjōkin*. These contracts ordinarily ran for three, five, or seven years, a period known as the first term, and on their expiration either the old contract was renewed or assignments were made to new contractors. The operational change from samurai to *Basho* merchant was most significant in the development of the industrial system in Hokkaidō. At first the methods and aims of the contractors were similar to those of the *Chigyōnushi*. Trade was carried on at one's risk and posts called *Unjōke* were established at contract areas under the direction of managers (who undertook the entire responsibility of the post), interpreters (who not only interpreted but looked after Ezo affairs), clerks and watchmen (who manned the watch stations set up at the fishing grounds). Rice, sake, yeast, salt, tobacco, pans, knives, needles, used clothes, dry goods, thread, lacquer ware, barrels, earrings, and pipes, all of which were in demand by the Ezo, were sent to these posts to be traded for marine products, handmade goods, and other materials which the Ezo had formerly traded to their neighbors. The Ezo goods were sold in the markets of Japan. The system was established gradually^a and owing to its development the Ezo market expanded and the amount of goods in Ezo increased in quantity and variety. Just prior to the existence of this system the income of the Matsumae derived from the Ezo trade was placed at 2-3,000^b ryō. But the *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, written in 1739 gives a total income of 3,200 ryō based on the total taxes on merchant vessels and the summer and autumn taxes from Ezo.^c

^a The details of the *Basho* contract system are dealt with in the following works. On those points where I hold a different opinion I will publish my own research later and will refrain now from any discussion.

Shirayama Tomomasa (see note 4 above).

Minami Tetsuzo, Matsumae Han jidai ni okeru ukeoi seido (The *Basho* contract system during the Matsumae period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (5).

^b See para. 3 of this chapter.

^c a) in gold 1200 ryō from the Shiribetsu lumber tax. b) in gold 1200 ryō from the tax on merchant ships. c) in gold 300 ryō. d) in gold 1400 ryō from the tax on foreigners. e) in gold 1700 ryō from the tax on herring stations. f) in gold

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 *175 The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the
 *648 income from *Unjokin* alone in the year 1804 reached
 439 approximately 7,000 ryō.⁹ This growth in profits was
 partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and
 partly to their capital development of new markets which
 till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but
 it was mostly due to the introduction of new mer-
 chandise, the improvement in the system of production,
 and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale
 houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in
 Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in
 Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.¹⁰ The
 market expanded and not only did those already in
 existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-
 Kyotō] regions increase but this trade reached into
 Edo¹¹ itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle
 and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in
 sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.¹² With this growth of
 the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when
 the restrictions which permitted only small corded ves-
 sels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade,
 the quantity of goods in trade rose.¹³ However, there
 was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*,
 especially when the same old methods were continued,
 and the contractors naturally sought new markets and
 new methods.

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 [26] The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit
 the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident,
 this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade
 of the seventeenth century, it was generally held that
 Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east
 coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu,
 then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was estab-
 lished in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in
 the Kuriles.¹⁴ On the west coast, 1772 saw the ex-
 ploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu,
 in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set
 up by Murayama Denbei.¹⁵ The contractor Hidayu
 Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and
 Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and
 on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu*.

* *Unjō* payments.

⁹ *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the in-
 come of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of
 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

¹⁰ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257-258.

¹¹ Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezochi no shōhin ni
 tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area),
Shiro Issen, No. 49.

¹² Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyō
 no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the
 Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

¹³ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

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 [26] ¹⁵ "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of
 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching
 herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori
 and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard
 houses were established." Murayama Denbei *Rireki* (Personal
 records of Murayama Denbei).

*195 vessel had visited before and from 1788 on these fishing grounds were actively worked.¹⁶

*648 Inevitably some of the products which were staples of the Matsumae income decreased. According to the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, the chief staples of the Matsumae were gold dust, hawks, dried salmon, herring, herring roe, strung shells, *Maba* [the fourteen best hip feathers of a full grown eagle, used for arrows], *Neppu* (according to the *Matsumae Eso Ki* a large seal), *Kotsuhi* (according to the *Matsumae Eso Ki* a female seal), seal, bearskin, deerskin, salt fish, storks, fish oil, dried cod, sea otter skin, red tangle, salmon trout, etc. By 1669 the gold dust was exhausted and its mining prohibited.¹⁷

*439 Hawks became scarce and by the mid-eighteenth century there were but 22 or 23 among the 390 hunting grounds owned by the clan where hawks could be caught.¹⁸ By 1720 the clan was complaining that "The products of this country and of Ezo are decreasing every year. Previously there was an annual sale of some 3,000 ryō in hawks but hawks are scarce, mining has been stopped and the financial condition is becoming worse."¹⁹ The *SGM* says: "Recently no deerskins are being produced. There are still some deer left but fearing that if these few are caught there would then be none they are left alone." By 1735 the number of deer decreased even further.²⁰ Seals became less in number.²¹ The economic staples of the Matsumae trade prior to the *Basho* system had been limited in quantity. Only if new areas were opened up could sufficient quantities of goods come on the market. That production which increased through the efforts of the *Basho* contractors was marine because it could be increased not only by the opening of new areas but by more efficient methods of production and operation.

*195 The original method of the contractors was to trade with the natives on equal terms for those peculiarly native goods which could be sold in the markets of Japan. From the standpoint of barter it was more profitable to trade the cheapest possible goods to the natives and sell the native products for the highest price obtainable in the mainland markets. The contractors, taking advantage of the ignorance of the Ezo, often committed fraud while at the same time, in the mainland markets, they held a monopoly of the Ezo trade, but, as the Ainu became more attentive to business and as the number of competitive contractors increased, the profit from the barter method fell off and the mer-

¹⁶ *Hidaya Kyūki* (The records of Hidaya Kyuhei).

¹⁷ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 132.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁹ *Matsumae Nennen Ki* (Annual records of the Matsumae), November, 1720.

²⁰ "In recent years the deer in this region have been almost wiped out and it is said that what few remain have crossed the sea from East Ezo to lands in the South. Consequently very few are left in East Ezo." *Igen Zokurwa*.

²¹ "The Ezo hunt and fish for eagle feathers, bearskin, seal-skin, male and female seals, herring, salmon, codfish, whale and halibut. All of these are extremely rare these days." *SGM*.

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chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.²² The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.²³ Fishing boats were im-

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proved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.²⁴ Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.²⁵ Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.²⁶ Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.²⁷ The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading²⁸ but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,²⁹ while herring,

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²² *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

²³ *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hiki ami seiso no Enkan* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokutsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

²⁴ Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

²⁵ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

²⁶ "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo... the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." *Murayama Denbei Ririki*.

²⁷ Takakura Shinichirō, *Fūdo Yōranshū* (Account of a sight-seeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

²⁸ *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

²⁹ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

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 *175 trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as
 *648 fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil
 251 cake.³⁰ Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark
 177 color with a slight value as merchandise. The con-
 439 tractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for
 A export to Nagasaki.³¹ New methods of preparing
 F tangle were introduced into remote areas. These ad-
 *175 vancements in technique required large capital. The
 *648 simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves
 [912] or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch.
 464 But as the tools improved their manufacture passed be-
 439 yond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established
 A shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used
 F Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors
 *175 expanded the area of their activities, they operated the
 *648 new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor.
 439 The entire expansion of the fishing industry was prob-
 A ably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the
 F Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets.
 *175 Inevitably there arose a change in the economic re-
 *648 lationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto
 439 the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors
 A and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above
 [426] what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a
 A small scale trade which could only be surmounted by
 F such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that
 *175 when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own
 *648 produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.³²
 439 On the other hand, the contractors, with their im-
 A provements and regulations, made it possible greatly to
 F increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in
 *175 the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation
 *648 of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in
 177 bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post
 441 with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake,
 226 yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they
 [429] would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with
 A sea cucumber they would return to the post where
 F clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent
 [251] pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered.
 A After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch
 F home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or
 [251] out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken
 A back to the post. There Ezo women worked under
 F foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and
 *175 packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used
 *648 to load the boats.³³
 177 The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was
 226 not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No
 439 longer were the chiefs men of character but merely
 A supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could
 F not be much improved by the use of nets but large
 *175 scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was oper-
 *648 ated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 403, 407.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 410.

³² See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.

³³ *Igen Zokuso* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

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*195 commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The
177 Ezo were completely under contractor control, working
*648 as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony
439 to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built
[46A] guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders
from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing.
This change became obvious in the period falling from
the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was
opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so
did this change come into operation at various times.
Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote
areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on
local products and conditions, penetrate. The Hokkai
Zuihitsu notes:

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[37] The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages
and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for
fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries.
The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods
directly with the merchants. The merchants could also
enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

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*195 Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae
*648 were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae
439 were still in the barter stage. The Matsumae Ezo
452 Ki shows a further development in *Basho* operation:
"There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are
paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the
Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to
bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on
various articles." This method became more and more
popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away
as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were
also due to the type of product handled.

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[439] 1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These
could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it
was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods
of hunting them and carry on without capital advances
or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by
barter.

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*195 2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available
*648 on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a
439 credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale
production was possible and the entrepreneur himself
took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their
continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new
territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as
the trade in this group decreased the trade in the pro-
ducts of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

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*195 These three types of products brought about a
*648 change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo
433 who dealt in group (1) retained their position as inde-
554 pendent producers and were on equal terms while those
437 Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to
be independent producers but were actually subject to
the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The
group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the mer-
chants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

*175 weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people.
 *648 This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more
 433 and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could
 554 not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group
 437 (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDO

*175 The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the
 *648 Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637-1638]
 [669] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae
 made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted
 Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly
 prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.²⁴ How-
 ever, very little else is known of the control system
 aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction
 became less stringent,²⁵ the 1669 incident unavoidably
 changed the political relationships between Ainu and
 Japanese. In the SGM the Matsumae chief says,
 "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from
 Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some
 who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to
 give them orders but me." This seems an exaggera-
 tion but it is a true picture of conditions in that area
 suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669
 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and
 Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their
 trade and began when that trade opened. The ex-
 change of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good
 will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and
 highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor.
 A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the
 presents with the statement "*Kamui Tokui*." "*Kamui*"
 means a god and is a title of honor. "*Tokui*" means
 friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly
 relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he
 was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he
 respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands
 at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became
 vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became
 subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became
 an independent power they had behind them the back-
 ing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated
 in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence.
 When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No
 matter what the order may be from the lord, we all,
 regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs
 who had previously been on equal terms with the
 Matsumae leader came under his control. "*Otona*": a
 Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-
 governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

²⁴ Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

²⁵ "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Kōshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsai Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

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used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. Hokkai Zuihitsu says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had

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been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mojin Seia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

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From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.²⁶

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In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

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These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotsu and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.²⁷

²⁶ *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

²⁷ "Key men in Ezo,

West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.

East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki*.

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 *648 This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those
 *195 Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and
 622 then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after
 A the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of
 *648 Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to
 *195 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits.
 488 In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and
 [431] from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fuku-
 [293] yama bearing gifts.

In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reach-
 ing to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came
 to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and ex-
 change gifts. This voyage was called "*Shamu Uimamu*"
 [Japan trade] and the boat used was a "*Uimamu*
 Chippu" [trade boat]. The sake received was "*uimamu*"
 sake or idiomatically "*Uimamu tonoto*." The word
 "*uimamu*" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu*
 [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].³² In 1739
 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to
 Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was
 most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would
 go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without
 seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his
 presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo
 of remote areas did not come each year but those living
 near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki*: "It used to be that once
 during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a
 visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the
 vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated
 and called a *Uimanchipu*"; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki*:
 "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they
 brought with them goods produced in their region. The
 Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These
 trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as
 the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its
 political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial
 character and its emphasis became exclusively that of
 a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into
 a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus,
 rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives.
 A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who
 disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January
 7 of each year.³³ On the occasion of each visit the
 Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in
 addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

³² *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, *Tsugaru ryōnai ni*
okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical ma-
 terials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru).
Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū 2 (2).

³³ "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi
 where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo
 chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many
 years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner
 but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and
 does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at
 the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the
 yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This
 was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi*.

*195 those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited
 *648 Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the
 622 castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed
 484 and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.⁴⁰ This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

*195 When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand pre-
 *648 pare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or
 431 rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the
 622 manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

*195 It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when
 *648 becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be
 574 considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When
 576 the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.⁴¹ In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.⁴² Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].⁴³ However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.⁴⁴ In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "*musha*" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Uruiruye* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

⁴⁰ Tsugaru Kibun.

⁴¹ Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.

⁴² Ishiba Takakado, *Omusha Ko*, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.

⁴³ *Tōkai Yawa*.

⁴⁴ Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

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people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

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According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*jomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatam maxim*, swallowwort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

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As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was "*Uetotsukobaku*" or "*Sharanpa*"—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. "*Uettukopak*" meant to "bid goodbye" and "*Sharanpa*" is from the Japanese "*Saraba*" both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

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In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over.

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"The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

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was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

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Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendents or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

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These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."⁴⁵ The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.⁴⁶ As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

⁴⁵ *Tōyūki*.

⁴⁶ For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezoichi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

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was enforced and that there was no pilfering.⁴⁷ Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.⁴⁸

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These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced"⁴⁹—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

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⁴⁷ According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of *Hidaya*, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai*, *Macra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

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⁴⁸ "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

⁴⁹ *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

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 *C48 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Heki-
 *175 richi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni
 166 had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and
 Otohe were any natives to be found. And even this
 small number was steadily diminishing as can be found
 in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred
 not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved
 inland and very few are seen these days." According to

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 *C48 a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae
 *175 consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses
 161 and three villages.³⁰ The reasons for this decline of
 [164] the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese
 but also have their cause in the spread of contagious
 diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a
 foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century.
 The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa
 and Otohe are almost gone, many having died of small-
 pox and measles." The decrease in population frustra-
 ted any Ainu attempt to organize self-government
 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought
 them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in
 the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special
 treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The
Ezo Dan Hikki shows this contrast when, in regard to
 the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there
 is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands.

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 *C48 Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring
 *175 with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living
 177 near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the
 A daimyō. But while they work some of the land they
 *C48 do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—
 *175 fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting
 651 firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary sub-
 stitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents
 in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Pay-
 ment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae
 were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a
 five x six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers
 while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven
 bundles each." These payments applied to those who
 had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in
 Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and
 on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae
 control and had just begun to trade and although in-
 volved in disputes with each other were independent.
 The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political
 relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have
 the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of
 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control
 and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Jap-
 anese jurisdiction in 1799.

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 A
 *C48 When all the above facts are considered it seems that
 *175 the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native
 177 control.

³⁰ Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on
 answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai
 Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain).

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1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidō except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

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In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.⁵¹

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Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the *SGM* we find that,

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"When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.⁵² Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

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⁵¹ Italics are mine.

⁵² See p. 21.

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Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi*: "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.⁵² The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3. THE ABUSES OF THE BASHO CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

⁵² *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari*.

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important role prior to the eighteenth century in the development of the European colonial system. Although the *Basho* operators, were individuals operating on a small scale, they played a similar historical role for they were entrepreneurs who succeeded in colonial enterprise after feudal attempts had failed. Furthermore, just as the chartered companies had certain obligations (the payment of a portion of their annual product to the Royal Household) for which they were given certain privileges, so did the contractors oblige themselves to pay a stated amount to the *Chigyōnushi* for which they were given the right of monopoly at the *Basho*. Another point in common is that both chartered company and *Basho* operators were merchants backed up by feudal power. However, unlike the charter company, the *Basho* operators were not granted the power of protecting their own enterprise, only the name of the *Basho* and the fee being entered into the contract. Nevertheless, since the negotiations with the Ezo were left up to the contractors and since neither *Chigyōnushi* nor clan interfered, the contractor actually exercised some political control. In the Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri districts which were under direct clan control supervisors were sent with each vessel because, says the *Toyū Zakki*, "People from Matsumae would try to deceive the Ezo and start trouble. They were to see that this did not happen." Actually, the main duty of the clan officials was trade supervision. The *Ezo Sōshi* gives their duty as that of preparing those goods which were to be sent to the daimyō: "they would go to the *Basho*, trade for sea otter, hawk feathers and eagle tails which were to be offered to the central government at Edo, load these goods with those of the contractors and sail for home."

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The predominance exercised over the Ezo was confined to *Omusha*, trade for "light goods," the inspection of cargoes, the reading of instructions to chiefs at the *Basho*, and the settlement of disputes between Ezo and Japanese. Privately owned territory, which represented the major portion of Ezo, was never visited by these officials.⁵⁴ But just as the chartered companies expanded, improved, and dominated industry in the colonies so did the *Basho*. Just as the companies played an important role in preparing the colonies for the direct rule of the home government so did the *Basho*. Just as companies took advantage of their privileges and caused the spread of misery among the natives, so the *Basho*. Just as the home governments did not interfere with the companies either from intent or because there was nothing that could be done thus leaving the natives to their fate, so with the *Basho*. The *Basho*

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⁵⁴ It is said that the *Uwanoriyuku* were sent only to such territories as were directly controlled by the clan chief. This is not true. They were sent to all important areas and this may be checked by the fact that in Bunsei Nenkan Tōzai Ezochi Unjōkin Chō (Tax records of Eastern and Western Ezo during the Bunsei period) there are many *Basho* in West Ezo which are listed under "*Uwanorikin*." In later years no *Uwanori* were actually sent to these *Basho* but the tax was collected.

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system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidayu Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.⁵⁵ Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

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The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and “when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings.”

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In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: “Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable.” But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:⁵⁶

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:

6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
500 sea cucumbers

5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.

6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
shirako [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.

Sasame [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

⁵⁵ Details of the decline of Hidayu are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

⁵⁶ *Igen Zokurwa*.

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600 dried mushrooms

Todo Skin [*Eumetopias Jubata*, Stellar sea lion]—
one piece.

3 seal skins

Elm bark cloth, 3 pieces

6 bamboo blinds

3 rush mats

For one bbl. of fish oil, containing 2 shō—3 sacks of
rice each containing 8 shō.

For one bear liver—14–20 sacks of rice.

For one outfit of brocade clothes from the Ezo of
Santan—9–24 sacks of rice.

For each 5 feet of Ezo brocade cloth—6 sacks of rice.

For eagle feathers—3–30 sacks of rice.

For one Karafuto pipe— $\frac{3}{4}$ cups of sake to one small
bbl. containing 4 shō.

Rates of exchange for goods from the mainland were
as follows:

For one sack of rice containing 8 shō:

1 small bbl. sake—4 shō

3 bundles of tobacco

1 large knife

6 small knives

6 bowls

3 pipes

1 sack of yeast containing 7 shō

1 set of Kamokamo (nest of bowls, 1 large, 1
small)

6 flints

72 needles

72 spools of cotton thread

3 *namako Hikikane* [tools for catching sea slugs]

1 set of old clothes for 5–10 sacks of rice each con-
taining 8 shō.

1 tan of cotton cloth for 3 sacks of rice.

Hokai [lacquer ware container used by high officials]
for 2–5 sacks of rice.

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The standard of value was rice and the value of
everything was set in terms of rice prior to barter.
In 1688 when the vessel *Kaifu Maru* came from Mito
to Ishikari the prevailing exchange was recorded as 1 to
2 shō of rice for each 700 fresh salmon. According to
statements left by Matsumae Sazen, principal retainer
of the clan and others, by 1790, the sack of rice was
reduced to 8 shō while the quality also became less and
at the same time the quantity of salmon to be exchanged
per sack of rice remained at 5 bundles or 100 salmon;⁵⁷
8 shō became the standard contents of the sack of trade
rice. It is reported that one of the reasons for the
trouble in Menashi and Kunashiri was the reduction
of the rice sack to a mere 3 shō occasioned by the famine
of the 1780's.⁵⁸ However, in general, the standard
measure was the "kobyō" [small sack] containing 8

⁵⁷ *Hokkaidō Shi*, 1263.

⁵⁸ *Ezo Dan* [Ezo Tales] (The story of the farmer Sanemon of
Ezashi village in Matsumae).

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shō of Musaban rice.⁵⁰ Trade was not necessarily carried on in accordance with these standards. According to *Igen Zokuwa* 4½ kan of tangle was worth more than 6 gō of unpolished rice valued at 5 to 60 mon per shō, yet in a diary of an official present at the trading in 1798 in Sōya, "The Ezo in exchange for 2 bundles of tangle received a large bowl of cold rice. The same case is seen in trading salmon, codfish or herring. It is a most inconvenient trade. It is said that this custom is followed in all parts of Ezo."⁵¹ Also, one shō of sake worth 200 mon according to *Igen Zokuwa* is said by the diary to have been worth one kan 600 mon.

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Fraudulent means were used in the trade to alter both the quality and quantity of mainland goods. Sake was, next to rice, the most important trade staple and we read in the *Tōyuki*: "Sake was put in 2 shō barrels with false bottoms and then taken over to trade." "Sake was generally the crudest type. That from Japan was thinned with water but they thought it of very good quality." From the *Ezo Koku Shiki*: "Sake was brewed in Ōyama in Akita and although said to be in barrels containing 2 tō actually they contained only 1 tō, 4 shō. The sake was raw and red in color. To this water was added." The Ezo were thus cheated both in quantity and quality. The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an anecdote about an interpreter of the Shiranuka *Basho* who once sold a traveling chest with gold metal fittings and gold paper lining to an Ezo chief. The chief tried to use the chest to make sake but, when the gold paper peeled off, he became outraged and was convinced that he had been cheated. He was not calmed until the nature of the chest had been explained to him.⁵² There is another anecdote about the origin of *Kuwasaki* which the Ezo valued. "In early days merchants taught the Ezo that the hoe-shaped ornament on a Japanese helmet was a valuable treasure, and sold them to the Ezo at high prices. This object was given the name *Kuwasaki*. They varied in shape but generally bore resemblance to a hoe. They were made of wood and covered with silver paint." As can be seen there was considerable chicanery. In Sōya a bundle of herring consisted of 10 strings with 20 fish to a string or a total of 200 while in Matsumae a bundle was 14 strings of 13 fish or 182 herring. While one sack of rice containing 8 shō was traded for 500 sea cucumbers yet, when the amount was less than 500, then the rate dropped to 5 hai of rice per 100 sea cucumbers thus resulting in a difference of 1 shō, 7 gō, five shaku per 500. The author of the *Igen Zokuwa* says, "Retail business resulted in a loss for the Ezo and a profit for the trading post. In the case of dried sea slugs the difference between units of 450 and 500 made for a big difference in price. Although some Ezo are aware of this, there are many who do not know the difference."

⁵⁰ *Ezo Koku Shiki*.⁵¹ Mutō Kanzo, *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo diary].⁵² *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 6 (2): 31.

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Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursements which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the accounts. In *Eso Miyoge* it says,

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There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight *shō* to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four *shō*) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

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In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

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After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

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A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

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This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

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*648 laborers increased, a new position called "Kozukai" was
*175 established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai*
466 was to recruit native labor according to the instructions
of managers and guards and to supervise their labor.
In *Igen Zokurwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at
the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the
skewers removed by women. This job was managed
by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the
post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working
Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

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[45] For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not
needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work
for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland.
If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased,
regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had
enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work.
They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and
it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of
them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice
and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be
given to three or four persons while one handful of rice
was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing
them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the
job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that poten-
tiality for trouble existed.

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465 Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil
*648 cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in
*175 general, as follows:⁶²

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the
custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied
however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in
the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was
a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

KUNASHIRI⁶³

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI⁶⁴

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	1/2 bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the
natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

⁶² *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the
investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi.

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*C48 and were not even paid for their labor.⁴⁵ Although the
*175 Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those
466 living in the mountains could not expect to feed them-
661 selves from these wages during the period they were
[51] traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since
they had no free time in which to produce anything for
themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which
they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store
provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge
of starvation.⁴⁶ The ways in which they were used as
laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report
made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shi-
mochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in
pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs
which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards
said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed.
At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and
drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives
were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the
Menashi region.]

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*C48 Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of
661 the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various
939 ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep
*175 these people under their sole control. First of all, the
Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to
preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho*, the contractor
forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed
to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The
Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly,
in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak
[19] Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings
conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To
leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the
contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which
agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki*
says:

The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It
was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was
possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed.
But such items were in sufficient production on the main-
land. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what
would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

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[51] ⁴⁵ "We have been working since last year making salmon oil
cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the
season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have
not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by
Ezo in Kunashiri.)

⁴⁶ "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post
making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had
no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts.
We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and
have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we
can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve."
(Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store
food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve
to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, *Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tskku*
kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in
Chigaku Zasshi, No. 276: 901-902.

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There are only a few people on this vast island and they are kept too busy hunting and fishing to do anything else. It was for this reason that such policies were undertaken.

This can be said to be a fair observation.

The people who went to Ezo and traded with the natives or engaged in fishing were all employees of the contractors. Since they were men who risked great dangers in going to the ends of the earth (as people in those days thought) to work and, as the author of *Tokai Santan* [Three Stories of the Eastern Seas], says, "Most of them were outlaws, refugees or persons denounced by their kinsfolk. . ." there is little doubt, although it is denied in *Mōjin Seia Dan*, that these people were unjust to the natives.⁸⁷ For example, the interpreter who carried on conversation with the natives was but an employee of the contractor and yet was a person of tremendous powers. He took advantage of his position to cause misery to the Ezo. *Tōyūki* notes:

The interpreters were thought to be officials of the Matsumae and the Ezo showed them due respect. However, the interpreters would become unreasonable to the point where, even in public, they would knock down their victims and stomp them with their feet. The scene was unbearable.

and also:

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The interpreter would make up new words and when the native failed to understand, jeer at the Ezo's ignorance. The Ezo, not knowing they were being deceived, thought the interpreters men of great knowledge.

These men used every means to achieve their aim. As an example of their methods which were no different from looting we have the report of a *Kozukai* from Akkeshi:

Chief Horoemiki of Chiurui possessed two pans which he treasured. At the request of the mainlanders who wished to see them, the chief sent them the pans. The mainlanders never returned them saying that they had been dropped and broken. When the chief asked for compensation, the mainlanders became very unreasonable and a *Tsugunai* resulted so the whole affair was left unsettled.

Getting *Tsugunai* by way of *Charanke* was a harmful method by which the stronger Ezo prayed on the weaker and, although it is said that the Matsumae forbade this practice, it was nevertheless used by the cunning to deprive the Ezo of their treasures. The *Tsugunai* episode in *Tōyūki* shows that where it was exercised it was effective enough to achieve its aim.⁸⁸ The *Ezo Sōshi* contains an incident about one Matsui Mohei who was a *Uwanoriyaku* for the Matsumae. By making claims that a bear liver brought by the Ainu was a fake, he forced them to pay as fines such treasured things as battle swords, short swords, and sheath bands and he earned an enormous profit by selling them.⁸⁹ The immoral mainlanders stole not only goods but also Ezo women. This was because permanent residence on Ezo

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⁸⁷ *Seikai*, No. 90: 70.

⁸⁸ *Ezo Fūzoku Isan*, Part 1: 51-52.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Part 2: 46-48.

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was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

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There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.⁷⁰ Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

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Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,⁷¹ or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,⁷² or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.⁷³ These were all childish threats made by the

⁷⁰ Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kōsei Ezo Ran*.

⁷¹ "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

⁷² "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

⁷³ "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

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Japanese but they were taken seriously by the natives because the daily conduct of the Japanese was so brutish that there seemed every possibility these threats would be carried out. The Matsumae never attempted to suppress such tyranny or the evil consequences thereof. It is true that the *Basho* contractors with commercial rights in Ezo were men of other clans and that therefore the Matsumae clan had little power over them,⁷⁴ but the officials of the Matsumae themselves were no more than profiteers. In the Tōyū Zakki we read that,

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Lesser samurai such as the pages or horse handlers made their incomes from trips on merchant vessels to Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri. One such trip was worth about 30 ryō in gold. Even the low ranking samurai made about 10 ryō on a voyage. The goods taken to Ezo by these samurai varied according to their rank, bearers, or sandalcarriers and the lower ranking took with them needles. A needle which cost one gold ryō in Matsumae could be traded for goods worth 5 to 7 ryō.

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Thus, the Matsumae officials themselves were busily engaging in trade and it was out of the question for them to regulate the merchants. This disreputable conduct of the officials has been mentioned before but another example is given in *Hokuhon Fudoki* [Customs of the Northern Clans]. There lived in Yoichi an Ezo who had ten trays made of gold which he dearly treasured. The clan officials regarded these as rare goods and persistently urged that he give them up as tribute. The native finally came to the capital and, pleading with the officials that these trays were of great value and could be sold for food in time of famine, and that they meant so much to him that he would rather kill himself than give them away, was finally able to avoid having this valuable property taken from him. This sort of situation is also well illustrated in *Tōi Shūran* [Complete observations on the Eastern Ezo]:

Each year one samurai from Matsumae was sent to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* to prevent unfair dealing by the merchants. However, these very same samurai acted like merchants and themselves engaged in unfair practices and were thus unable to prevent fraud on the part of the merchants. This system of *Uwanoriyaku* is just a waste of money without any good results.

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A severe and pertinent criticism of this system is found in *Sapporo Kushi*: "The attitude of the Matsumae clan toward the natives is not that of a lord governing his people nor is it that of a ruler of nomadic peoples but it is the attitude of a large businessman very clever in making profit."⁷⁵

As has been mentioned, the influence of the Japanese extended gradually into the interior of the island and ~~as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo.~~ cause it seemed that she would be cooked to death, a large number of Ezo came to her rescue and were able to get her back." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

⁷⁴ Mori Yoshio, Kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgyō shihon no hassei (Development of commercial capital in recent times in Hokkaidō), *Shirin* 19 (1): 140 ff.

⁷⁵ *Sapporo Kushi*, 201.

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as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.⁷⁸

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

⁷⁸ *Hokkaido Shi*, 348-350.

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persons were killed including the supervisor, manager, interpreter, and guards, and the stores were looted. The rebels then went to Menashi and instigated the Ezo there to revolt. Here thirty-six of the guards were killed and also the thirteen members of the crew of a contractor's vessel which lay in Churui. The rebels then fortified themselves in preparation for a battle with the clan troops. However, the *Otona* Ikotoi of Akkeshi and Chief Tsukinoe of Kunashiri persuaded the Kunashiri rebels to give themselves up while the Menashi group, following the advice of the *Otona* Shonko of Noshappu, surrendered and the revolt ended on July 17 without a battle. Those found bearing most guilt for the incident, some thirty-seven, were sentenced to death.⁷⁷

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4. THE DISPOSITION OF THE REVOLT OF 1789

The 1789 revolt in Menashi and Kunashiri compared with that which occurred in 1669 was only a local affair on a small scale and was easily subdued. However, just at this time it was becoming apparent that Russia was expanding south along the Kuriles. This aroused the attention of the more alert and there were those who thought that the Russians, to win the natives and further their expansion, were giving the natives all they asked for and rumor went so far as to assert that the Russians had instigated this rebellion.⁷⁸ For these reasons the Bakufu took a particular interest in the incident and sent an investigating commission to Ezo while, at the same time, ordering the Matsumae to be more cautious in the future. The Matsumae clan itself, after the revolt, realized its faults and while cautioning the Ezo not to let such a thing happen again and at the same time ordering them to visit their lord in Matsumae as provided in the rules, also instructed the natives to report any unfair dealings in trade. The contract of Hidayu Kyuhei was cancelled and Murayama Denbei was ordered to look after his natives while a number of improvements were made in the regulations regarding the Ezo. Following is a report sent to the Bakufu in 1790.

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IMPROVEMENTS IN EZO

1. Remote areas in East and West Ezo are not to be contracted to outsiders but are to be directly controlled by the clan. Officials shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo and primary attention is to be devoted to winning their favor.

2. Hitherto persons from other clan territories have been permitted to engage in the Ezo trade. Hereafter,

⁷⁷ The details of this incident have been omitted since they may be found in *Hokkaidō Shi* and *Kansei Ezo Ran*.

⁷⁸ In the *Ezo Shinkai Kikigaki* [Records of Newly Opened Areas in Ezo], written in 1805 and preserved in the library of Hokkaidō Imperial University, the 1789 incident is described as follows: "Fourteen or fifteen years ago the people in Moscow, with the intention of getting control of the island, tried to win the favor of the people of Kunashiri which is an island off Hokkaidō, using the Christian religion as a tool. The effect can be seen, for many people in Kunashiri, including the Ezo, have formed into groups . . . and revolt."

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except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers, swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.¹⁹

The net result of all this was the following two policies:

1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore sought to correct the system and where supervision proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system. However, the establishment of guardhouses and the tationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life actually was carried out. These guard posts were originally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

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¹⁹ Hokkaidō Shi 1: 358-360.

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written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.
2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.
3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.
4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods."⁸⁰

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.⁸¹

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Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omasha*.

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This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

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⁸⁰ "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōkutei) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

⁸¹ Kimura Shikyō Hikki.

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*C48 30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and
*175 Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary
656 force in Ezo it says:⁸²

Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

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*C48 On the other hand there is evidence that the village
621 government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dôchû*
178 Ki [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kosukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kosukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

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*C48 1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted
*175 by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sôya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

5. SUMMARY

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*C48 The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an
177 arena for their colonial activities in the modern period.
*175 First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order
439 to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

⁸² *Kansai Ezo Ron* . . .

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648 was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.

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*175 Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

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[37] The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who were either voluntarily or by force, were brought into the new economic system as laborers and dependents.

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[46] Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

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*648 This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

* From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

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to custom." The only thing that had to be done was to win the favor of the chiefs. Even the trading posts were merely convenient locations for a vessel to land and for business to be conducted and when the trade was completed the Japanese left and there was no form of political intervention. But as contacts multiplied and, as the Ezo became more an exploited people, the periods of contact lengthened and it became necessary to apply force to; and lay down obligations for, the Ezo and, as a result, possibilities for trouble arose. It then followed that there was a need for political regulation and an administrative organization came to be set up. The *Uwanoriyaku* whose duty it had been to go to Ezo during the trading season became agents stationed in Ezo-land to govern the people. However, this system was still in embryo and its full development will be seen in the following period.

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From the standpoint of an attitude toward the natives, the Matsumae clan took a non-interference policy and was not aggressive while the contract merchants, who were the actual possessors of power, driven by the desire for profit and oblivious to the interest, happiness, or humanity of the Ezo, restricted freedom and established a despotism equivalent to a slave system. And the passivity of the Matsumae was an acknowledgment of this merchant power and attitude. Unlike the colonial history of the West in its early period no such cruel method as extermination was undertaken. The reason for this as explained in Chapter II of Part two may be our national character, the benevolence of Buddhism, and the principles of royal rule derived from China, but fundamentally it was because the Ezo, being a peaceful people, did no harm to the Japanese and were, in fact, vitally necessary to the mainlanders.

PART TWO

THE EARLY PERIOD OF DIRECT CONTROL
By The Japanese Government

I. THE REASONS FOR THE ASSUMPTION
OF DIRECT CONTROL

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It was not until this second period, that of direct control by the Bakufu which began in 1799, that the central government recognized the importance of a policy of control over Hokkaidō and its residents and began to consider such a policy and that a great deal of discussion took place about Ainu policy and procedures. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the transition from a commercial to an exploited colony was a logical one, but the factor that so rapidly made Ezo a problem was one of foreign relations, for there had appeared a competitor for colonial power in Ezo-land, and this appearance was to bring into existence a more proper way of government in Ezo—the direct control of the Bakufu. Let us examine this.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN
COLONIZATION

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It was early in the thirteenth century that our country was introduced to Europe as "Jipangry" [Zipangu]. It was an exaggerated introduction which told of an island "abounding in gold and limitless in its resources"¹ but it stirred the gambling spirit of Europeans and it initiated a colonial venture by those Europeans who were active during the Renaissance and who were antagonized by the Turkish monopoly of the Eastern trade. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived in our country and then Japan, which had been peacefully isolated from the world in a corner of the Orient, came into the stream of world history. From that time on the threat of foreign countries gradually encircled our country. The first introduction of the Ezo region (Hokkaidō) to Europe was probably made in the letters² to colleagues in China and India of Luis Frois who had been engaged in missionary work in Kyōtō and Ōsaka starting in 1565, some twenty-three years after the first Portuguese ship entered Tanegashima in 1543. These letters soon attracted the attention of other evangelists for they spoke of that custom of the Ainu, similar to Christianity, of attaching crosses to clothes and burying the dead. Ezo-land became a favorite place to send people to spread the gospel and a great deal of effort went into the attempt to make converts in that region.³ While these attempts were

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¹ Uriu Tora trans. and ed., *Maruko Poro Kikō* (Travels of Marco Polo), 418.

² Murakami Naojirō, trans., *Yasokaishi Nihon Tsūshin* (Christian Correspondence from Japan), *Ikoku Sōsho* [Collection of Materials on Foreign Lands] 1: 192.

³ Shibata Sadakichi, *Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite* (The introduction of Christianity to Ezo), in *Sapporo Hōsō Kyoku* ed., *Hokkaidō Kyōdoshi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of Hokkaidō), 222.

PART TWO

The Early Period of Direct Control
BY THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

*^A648 wrecked by the great persecution of Christianity by the Tokugawa Bakufu, they did spread a knowledge of Ezo-land among Europeans and the records of abundant gold and silver combined with the legend of the unknown golden islands moved them to send exploratory ships. They were disappointed to find the real Japan different from that island of gold "Jipangry." Among the more famous were: Sebastiano Vizcaino,⁴ a Spaniard who explored the coasts of Ōu and Ezo in 1611 and went deep into the Northern Sea for that island of gold and silver located at 37.5° N. and some 380 to 390 miles east of Japan, which island had been reported in 1582; the Northern Sea Exploring group under the command of de Vries who in 1629 got as far north as 42°, some 600 Danish miles east of Japan, and who in 1643 explored the Kuriles and the coasts of Ezo.⁵ But the islands of gold and silver turned out to be nothing but islands of vision. All their explorations ended in failure but the notices of Ezo stirred up a further interest among other people.⁶ These were: Spanberg,⁷ a Russian who explored the Kuriles and the Ezo coastal regions in 1738, 1739, and 1742; J.F.G. de la Perouse⁸ who explored and mapped the coasts of Alaska, Korea, Manchuria, and the Straits of Mamiya and who entered the Japan Sea in 1787 under orders from the French King Louis XVI to explore the coast of Japan which deed James Cook the Englishman could not complete; and W. R. Broughton⁹ who followed the Englishman G. Vancouver in surveying the Japanese coast in 1796 and 1797. Vries anchored at Akkeshi in September of 1644 to the surprise of the Matsumae retainers who were dispatched there.¹⁰ Spanberg appeared off Oshika gun in Sendai territory in May of 1739 and his other ships showed at Atatsu mura, Nagasa gun in Awa kuni, and at Shimoda mura, Kamo gun in Izu kuni to the consternation of those areas.¹¹ But these scattered voyages were only for purposes of exploration and did not result in much public attention in Japan. On the

⁴ Suematsu Yasukazu, *Kinsei ni okeru Hoodō Mondai no shinten* (Evolution of the northern problem in recent times), 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶ See Japan's northern frontier, appendix one.

⁷ Spanberg's voyage was an offshoot of the Bering expedition and its objective was to find a sea route from Kamchatka via the Okhotsk Sea to the Amur River or to Japan and to establish, if possible, relations with Japan. Many savants were on this voyage. See pp. 36 and 50 of Tabohashi Kiyoshi, *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku Kankai shi* (History of the foreign relations of Japan in modern times).

⁸ Fukase Shunichi, *Ezochi ni okeru Rapesu meimeichi ko* (A study of La Perouse's Ezo place names), *Hoppō Kyōdo* 1 (1): 21.

⁹ *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku*, . . ., 299.

¹⁰ *Tsūkō Ichiran* [A review of Japan's communications with the outside world] 6: 324.

¹¹ *Kindai Nihon Gaikoku*, . . ., 57.

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other hand, Russian penetration of the northern areas which was extending from Siberia to Kamchatka was attracting attention and raising problems.

The Russian invasion to the east started when the Cossack Timoviev Yermak and eight hundred men invaded Siberia and conquered the inhabitants in 1581. With the Cossacks as the chief force, Russian influence gradually extended eastward and reached Eniseisk in 1618, Yakutsk in 1632, and by 1646 the Okhotsk Sea. Thus, within sixty years Russia reached across the great Siberian plain to the Pacific. In 1650 Russian influence intruded into the Amur River region and a conflict arose with Chinese forces at Albasin. The invasion in that direction was stopped by the treaty of Nerchinsk and it consequently turned eastward when, in 1697, V. Atlasov conquered Kamchatka. Russian expansion eastward was not motivated by dreams of islands of gold and silver or by the urge for adventure or for scholarship, but by the tremendous fur wealth of the area and this expansion was planned and aided by Peter the Great who came to the throne in 1689. This continuous northern exploration finally reached the Aleutian Islands via Kamchatka. It can be termed a colonial activity which had as its aim a trade with the natives for those furs which the natives hunted.¹¹ In 1711 the Russian advance reached the Kuriles. As soon as it was discovered that these islands abounded with skins, the Russians explored the area, surveyed the islands, collected information from natives and castaways, landed on several of the islands, changed their names, and levied one skin per inhabitant per year. In 1747 they dispatched missionaries to Shimishu Island and established a primary school for children as part of a long-range program. In 1765 they arrived at Uruppu Island and in 1785 they landed at Etorofu Island where they stayed for a year.¹² Though a fundamental factor in the development of Russian colonization was the active assistance of the central government, especially that of Catherine I, the actual control was in the hands of the wealthy traders of Irkutsk, Tobolsk, and Yakutsk. These men dispatched trading and hunting ships, collected skins, and dominated both Cossacks and natives. But there were many in the trade who were ignorant and vagrant, aiming only at a quick profit without any permanent plans. They mistreated the natives and repeated the pattern of the early stages of colonization by other countries in that, relying on force, they not only maltreated the natives but slaughtered anyone who objected to their orders. This created a native antipathy to them and armed conflicts occurred, notably that in which the natives of Etorofu and Rashiōwa islands banded together to attack and slaughter

¹¹ Ibid., 10.

¹² Chishima Ainu, 25. Takakura Shinichirō and Shibata Sadakichi, Waga kuni ni okeru Chishima chizu sakusei shi (The history of the cartography of the Kuriles in relation to Japan), Hoppo Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku (Reports on research in the culture of the northern area) 3.

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the Russians in Etorofu and in 1771 cleaned the Russians out of the Kuriles for a time.¹³ With that incident the Russians changed their attitude and, when they made their next voyage in 1773, they gave presents to the natives, demonstrated their generosity, and began a trade between the Russians and the Kurilese during the course of which the Russians converted the natives, changed their customs, altered their names, taught them Russian, sent them missionaries, etc. Some Russians began the practice of staying over for a year on Etorofu and in 1785 a permanent Russian colony was established there. As their colonial activities in the northern seas advanced, the Russians began to feel the need of securing raw materials and supplies from their neighbors and of finding a local market for their products. In 1779 some Russians requested trade at Akkeshi. In 1785 Gregori Shelekov organized a colonial company which, in 1794, sent Cyril Laxman to Japan officially to request trade and which, in 1794, founded a colony on Uruppu Island which was the economic center for the natives of Etorofu.

The extent of Japanese influence to the east and north of Ezo has already been described. The center of trade with the Kuril Ainu was gradually moving east from Akkeshi. In 1701 Kiritappu *Basho* was separated from Akkeshi and in 1754 Kunashiri *Basho* was opened for trade with the Ezo. The protection of our rights and interests in these areas has now to be considered.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE EZO AREA

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Japan could not ignore the fact that Hokkaidō was entering the colonial arena of the world. Naturally the appearance of a competitor for Ezo attracted the attention of the central government and led to its direct control over Ezo. But that was not the sole factor, for the central government had already had its interest turned to Ezo and the possibility of colonial competition merely spurred its activities. Ever since Minamoto Yoritomo conquered the Ōu area, the Ezo of that region had been completely Japanized and, after the rebellion of Andō Futoshi, administrator of Ezo in the late Kamakura period, [1185-1333] native power had been removed to the northern side of Tsugaru Strait and for centuries they were forgotten by the mainland people who thought of Ezo only as haunted by demons.¹⁴

¹³ Kindai Nihon Gaikoku. . . , 87.

¹⁴ As an example there is a scene in a play in which Ezo Island appears. It is in the Jōruri drama *Kenjō no Tenarai* written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon in 1685 and may be found in the First Book of Chikamatsu's Popular Writings included in vol. 4 of the Section on Edo literature in *Nihon Meicho Zenshu* (Library of Famous Japanese Literature). This play describes the island as follows:

"This so-called Ezo Island is located more than one thousand ri away. Whoever is born on this island possesses an immense natural power. The hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like the golden morning sun. Their angry shouting

*648 Therefore, long after the Matsumae became an independent clan in the Tokugawa period and made the *Sankin Kōtai*, they were still treated merely as the chiefs of a subordinate territory and the leaders of barbarians. The rebellion of 1669 came as a shattering surprise to a dream of peace but it inaugurated Ezo studies. As the post rebellion immigration to Ezo increased information increased. It came not only from the tales of travelers, workers, and castaways but from explorations like that of the *Kaifū Maru* which, in 1688, on the orders of Tokugawa Mitsukuni, surveyed the entrance of the Ishikari River. In 1718 Arai Hakuseki published his geographical work *Ezo Shi*.

*195 It is, therefore, only natural that as recognition of Ezo had grown there grew a demand to open the region for the development of the national economy. It is interesting to note that this demand for opening up the area coincided with the beginning of mainland commercial capital control in Hokkaidō. Some of the popular writers on Ezo were: Namikawa Temmin who wrote the *Hekikyōroku* [Record of the open Frontier] but who died before it was published and who, in the time of the Shogun Yoshimune, restorer of Tokugawa power and friend of industry, had urged the need for pioneering the Ezo territory; Fukami Genyu who, for writing directly to the Bakufu in 1722 urging the cultivation of the Ezo, was punished; Sakakura Genjirō who in 1736 advised the Bakufu to work the gold mines of Ezo and who in 1737, backed by the Bakufu, began two years of exploration out of which came his *Hokkai Zuihitsu* an analysis of Ezo and its products. There is no way of knowing in detail what Fukami Genyu's views were but Temmin and Genjirō insisted that Ezo be opened and colonized not from the point of view of national defense and foreign invasion but for exploitation of the great natural resources of Ezo.¹³ The intrusion of aliens in the north and the Russian penetration in particular stimulated these demands and were a great spur to moving the Bakufu to action. However, the administrative attitude was not changed from one of indifference till 1771, six years after the Russian frontier arrived at Etorofu Island. This delay was because it was not until 1771 that the Bakufu knew that the Russians had arrived in the Kuriles and that it knew then was through a letter to it from B. M. A. A. Beniowsky, a Hungarian, who had escaped from the

frightens the animals. They hunt and eat animals of the mountains and fields as well as fish. They indulge in fine wines and beautiful women and live lavishly. It is a strange country of no law and dissolute habits." It sounds like a description of hell. The year the play was written was about the time when Ezo rebellions were becoming widely known and it is possible that Chikamatsu adopted that kind of scene in line with popular interests. The material itself seems to have come from "On Zōshi Shima Watari" found in the *Otogo Zōshi*. See Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu researches), 336.

¹³ Takakura Shinichirō, *Temmei izen no Ezoichi kaitaku iken* (Notes on colonization in Ezo prior to 1781), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (1 and 2).

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Russians and had reached Tosa via the Japan Sea. In this letter Beniowsky warned Japan against Russia's penetration southward. The Matsumae clan who were responsible for affairs in the north had first heard in 1759 of the "red-clothed strangers" who had established a settlement at Kurumeseokotan. After that year the Matsumae were to hear often of the "red Ezo of the Kuriles" [the Russians]. In 1779 the clan sent officials to meet the Russians at Akkeshi when the Russians requested trade. But both the Matsumae and the Bakufu kept this a secret and neither announced it or made any arrangements for it.¹⁶ But this sort of thing could not be neglected endlessly. Kudō Heisuke, physician to the Sendai clan, urged a Russian policy in his *Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō* [Report on rumors about the Red Ezo], published in 1783, after he had heard of the Russian invasion from Minato Genzaemon the former Matsumae accountant and from others. Hayashi Shihei emphasized both the opening and the defense of Ezo in his *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu* (1786) after he had heard of the situation from an interpreter in Nagasaki. Kudō's suggestion was accepted by the Prime Minister Tanuma Okitsugu and the contractor Yamaguchi Tetsugoro and others were sent to Ezo to explore that island, the Kuriles and as far as Saghalien.¹⁷ This move was based on Kudō's advice *vis-à-vis* the Russians and the need for colonizing Ezo and not particularly as a defense against Russia.¹⁸ The Bakufu laid plans for the opening of Ezo on the basis of this investigation and was about to carry out these plans when Tanuma was thrown out of office. The exploring group was recalled and the only result was a plan. The report of the group written as the *Ezo Shūi* [Views on developing Ezo] was given to Mito Mitsukuni. This report was an important factor in rousing public opinion against the Russian invasion and for the colonization of Hokkaidō. Among those most aroused was Honda Toshiaki the teacher of Mogami Tokunai who had been a member of the party and had gone as far as Etorofu. Honda, on the basis of his knowledge of foreign studies plus Mogami's information, wrote several articles on Ezo and acted as adviser to the Bakufu on the subject.¹⁹ His opinions were not neglected as he had a close personal relationship with the dominant Mito clan. In addition to his arguments for exploitation of Ezo he put great emphasis on the necessity for national defense. The prevailing opinion in Japan held that the Russian

¹⁶ Kōnō Tsumekichi, *Anei izen Matsumae han to Rojin to no kankei* (Relations between the Matsumae clan and the Russians before 1772), *Shigaku Zasshi* 27 (6).

¹⁷ Kōnō Tsumekichi, *Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō no chosha Kudō Heisuke* (Kudō Heisuke as author of "Aka Ezo fusetsu kō"), *Shigaku Zasshi* 26 (5).

¹⁸ Ōtomo Kisaku, *Temmei go roku nen Bakufu no Hokumon chōsa* (The Bakufu's investigation of the Northern gate in 1785-1786), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 2: 201.

¹⁹ Honjō Eijiro, *Tokugawa Bakufu no Kezaigakusha Honda Toshiaki ni kenkyū* (A study of the Tokugawa economist Honda Toshiaki), *Keizai Shi Kenkyū*, No. 29.

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advance was simply due to a desire for trade; that the conflict between the Ezo and the Russians was an incident created by the Kamchatka Russians without the knowledge of the Russian government and that to dispatch an army and navy was not necessary since the Russians had no territorial designs but desired only a mutual trade which same was wished by a number of Japanese.²⁰ Honda and his followers held a contrary view—that it was a Russian invasion, that Ezo was economically vital to Japan, and that national defense ought to be emphasized.

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The Matsumae remained inactive for they were capable of neither exploiting the natural resources nor providing for the national defense. There were those like Matsumae Hironaga and the clan chief Michihiro who were aware of and paid attention to the problem but (a) the clan was tiny, the census of 1777 showing only 26,500 people and 170 samurai families including foot soldiers,²¹ and (b) the clan was in financial straits with a vast indebtedness and almost no way to pay it.²² It was therefore impossible for them to venture the great wilds and the rough seas of the north in order to defend the vast territory of Ezo. All they could do was to wait and wish for luck. To a large extent the same situation was true of trade. Trade was under merchant control and the clan could not control the misconduct of the merchants in their relations with the natives or the exploitation which raised native anger. Indeed the fact that the financial position of the clan made it overcharge the contractors helped indirectly the exploitation of the Ezo. "The Eastern Ezo are stout and strong although they seem awkward and foolish. Once they decide to hazard their lives they are not to be moved. If they are mistreated they make up their minds and you then reap the whirlwind."

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The scholars were correct when they said that if matters were left unremedied the Ezo would rebel against us in collaboration with the Russians. The 1789 rebellion in Kunashiri and Menashi was not supported by the Russians although some people so argued but it was an outcome of the complaints of the natives. On the other hand we have an example in what happened to the *Otona* Ikotoi of Atsushi. Although he had gained merit by helping quiet the Kunashiri-Menashi revolt, he later ran away to Etorofu to complain to the Russians about the actions of the Matsumae.²³ Under very strict instructions from the Bakafu after 1789 the Matsumae changed their policy, tried to educate the natives, established fire towers and guardhouses, and in 1790 sent officials to open the Karafuto market. In 1791 they sent foot soldiers to Etorofu as inspectors and watchmen. But according

²⁰ Otomo Kisaku, *Kudō Heisuke no Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō* (Kudō Heisuke's "Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō"), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 200: 187.

²¹ *Matsumae Shi*.

²² *Hokkaidō Shi*, chap. 33, section 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, 481.

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to the records of the Bakufu investigations in 1791 and 1792 the situation was even worse than before the revolt and in fact the bad administration of the Matsumae never improved.²⁴

It was clear then that the problem of Ezo could not be left to a small clan. On the basis of the investigations of 1791 and 1792 the Prime Minister Matsudaira Sadanobu was preparing to open Ezo when, in 1792, the Russian envoy Laxman came to Japan and the Bakufu, busy with coastal defense, put off the plan. Then later, on the basis of a secret report from the Mito clan made by Ohara Sakingo who, during a visit to the Matsumae clan in 1795-1796, got the idea that the clan might secretly contact the Russians,²⁵ the Bakufu sent three groups of officials to report on Ezo in 1798. Based on these reports, the Bakufu made up its mind. The first step was to put East Ezo from Urakawa to Cape Shiretoko with the adjacent islands under direct control. This was ordered to be done for a period of seven years in 1799. Later the region from the east of the Shiriuchi River to Urakawa was added and in July, 1803, East Ezo came under the permanent direct control of the Bakufu. In 1807 all of Ezo was placed under the direct control of the Bakufu. It is clear then that the cause which precipitated direct central government control over Ezo was a desire to prevent Russian penetration and to add the resources of Ezo to the Japanese economy.

II. THE GROWTH OF A GOVERNMENT POLICY IN EZO

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1. THE IMPORTANCE OF A NATIVE POLICY

As has been made clear in the preceding part the motive for direct central government control over Ezo was the prevention of Russian aggression. It was therefore quite natural that the government concentrated on defense activities and ordered the Nambu and Tsugaru clans to fortify their territory. To accomplish this aim the government provided transportation facilities, built roads, established inns, set up a postal service and provided for post houses, kept government vessels at sea on patrol, developed sea routes and, in order to make best use of these facilities in event of emergency, kept both land and sea routes under government control. However, since the island was vast and, of course, surrounded by water, it was difficult to fortify the area against foreign invasion with the handful of people sent there. In addition it was formidable from the standpoint of climate and provisions to station troops there. Therefore, the government announced that Ezo was a Japanese colony and in order to meet the expense of administration not only lifted the prohibitions against free entrance to Ezo but actively encouraged immigration and colonization. But a great many laborers were

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²⁴ *Ibid.*, 370.

²⁵ Mori Seizō, *Kindai Bungai Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in the literary history of recent times), section on Ohara Sakingo.

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needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

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This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Tenmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu" * but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

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* *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

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*648 commercial colony and government control was weak and
 *175 the natives considered as aliens, the most important
 policy was considered to be one of appeasement. This
 is the reason why these savants treated the Ezo problem
 from a political standpoint. These men were essentially
 physiocrats who did not conceive of the Ezo as economic
 beings of immediate use but as a people who through
 conciliation could be made useful in the future. But as
 the threat of Russian invasion from the north grew so
 the need for a definite policy became greater. Kudō
 Heisuke who was the first to warn of the Russian in-
 vasion has this to say: "If this matter is neglected and
 the people of Kamchatka come into Ezo that island will
 come under the control of Russia and no longer take
 orders from our government. Were this to happen we
 would never be able to restore our relationship with the
 Ezo."

Hayashi Shihei in his *Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu* goes
 even further. Ever since the Japanese first started to
 go to Ezo he says: "The people there have all come to
 respect our country and at present their sentiment is
 very strong in favor of becoming subjects of our
 country." Therefore, he adds:

If our government would take some measures in this
 respect they would readily become our subjects. [How-
 ever,] I have heard that the low-class merchants of the
 trading stations from time to time treat the natives unfairly.
 And on the other hand I have heard that the Russians, in
 treating with the Ezo use no arms, do not exercise force,
 give them pepper and quilted clothing to keep them warm
 from the cold, offer sugar or wine to please them, and fire
 cannon for demonstrations, thus trying to win the favor of
 the Ezo. It is the custom of European countries to bring
 under their control other countries thousands of miles
 away and add to their benefits. And it is said that recently
 Moscow is eyeing Ezo for the same purpose. Therefore,
 we should lose no time trying to bring the Ezo under our
 complete control; otherwise the Russians are bound to come
 in, sooner or later, and when they do it will be too late for
 us.

Thus, he warned of the possible danger if Ezo were
 neglected. He adds that appeasement of the Ezo is
 not only vital for national defense but that it is a humane
 duty to educate them and that the reason the Ezo are
 ignorant is that no one has taken the trouble to help
 them. "Even in the cases of China, Korea, or Holland
 which are all now civilized countries one can see that
 originally they were in the same situation as Ezo."
 Yet, because for many thousands of years wise men
 have devoted themselves to educating the people, these
 countries have become "civilized countries." There is
 no doubt that, if such men could be found in Ezo, that
 land would become civilized but, since there seem to be
 no such men there, "we should take on the task of
 educating them and teaching them humanity and how
 to produce goods. This would be in accord with the
 wishes of the gods." This latter however, was not the
 main argument of Hayashi.

Actual inspection was to reveal the vile administra-

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tion of the Matsumae and prove the points made by Hayashi. Mogami Tokunai who played an eminent role in the investigation of 1786 also put forth the urgent need for an assimilation policy and in his *Ezo Sōshi* he criticizes the Matsumae as follows:

As mentioned in the previous chapter entrance into Ezo was restricted. Nevertheless, many Russians have entered the island and are practicing their laws and regulations there. They have treated the Ezo fairly and offered guidance so that the natives have come to accept the customs and ways of life of the Russians. The attempt of the Matsumae to prohibit entry to Ezo is futile because the island is too big. The time has come for our country to open the door to aliens.

Honda Toshiaki who had studied about Ezo under the guidance of Mogami Tokunai further developed this argument and is the most conspicuous figure among those advocating the colonization of Ezo. He notes that one of the four most important steps in restoring the Japanese economy would be to develop the islands attached to the mainland as fortresses against an enemy thus adding to both our national product and our national power. He emphasizes the development of Hokkaidō. He does not mean merely the cultivation of the land over a large area. He states that it is most important to treat the natives benevolently.

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If the people on the island are still living in holes dug in the ground they should be taught to live in houses. We could even go so far as to build one for the chief. Whatever materials they lack we should furnish and this is true in every phase. If they are thus treated there is no doubt that they will come to trust and rely upon you as would a child on his parents. After all, their sentiments are as human as anyone else's.¹

This benevolence according to Toshiaki was not to be merely a political matter. He says that, if the natives are well treated,

they too in return would wish to repay us. The products they offer would be the first step toward taxation. . . . It is a wise way to govern that the natives be taught to work hard without idling away their time. This is an essential in governing.² [But] In Japan no policy has yet been decided upon and it is forbidden to send cereals there. Knives are not allowed nor are the natives permitted to use the Japanese language and there are many other prohibitions. This policy of keeping the people ignorant and uncivilized is a most regrettable one. The policy of Muscovy is to give the natives what they want even if it means a little sacrifice, so naturally the natives in Ezo and the other islands have a deep respect for and reliance upon them.³

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The latitude of Matsumae is 40° North and it has the same climate as Peking in China. Therefore, whatever is raised in Peking could be grown also in Ezo. The circumference of the island is approximately 1000 ri and, if the entire island were well-developed, it would have a productive capacity equal to that of Japan and, if these

¹ Keisai Hisaku Hoi (Successful administration, supplement), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 12: 83.

² *Ibid.*, 83.

³ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

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products were brought to Japan, we should be twice as wealthy. The island is thus a great potential for Japanese wealth and should not be neglected. If left untouched it would fall into the hands of foreigners but if we take the right step the island would become a part of our country and increase our national power. Yet since we have ignored the island, officials from Muscovy who have come there during the period 1772-1780 have foreseen this situation. Intending to add the island to their domains by helping those Ezo in need, they came with tools and instruments, guided the people with kindness, have started a trade in the products of the island, and have inculcated humanity. Thus, the natives have come to respect them and some twenty islands in East Ezo south of Kamchatka have become subject to Muscovy.*

Here the author adds that a benevolent attitude has its economic advantages also. Two birds could thus be killed with one stone of benevolence for it would mean not only wealth but a stronger defense. In Toshiaki's opinion the policy he advanced was not a temporary measure but the base of a firm and aggressive colonization. He cautions that an assimilation policy ought to be carried out gradually and that "the customs of Japan be introduced slowly while the natives own traditions be kept."*

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Probably the one who, more than any so far mentioned, stated in detail the need for developing Ezo was Ohara Sakingo. He visited Matsumae in 1795 and wrote his *Hokuchi Gudan* [Account of the follies in the North] as a dissent against the Russian policy of the Matsumae. He was an important factor in the Bakufu's decision to take over the North and his later *Hokuchi Kigen* [Plain speaking about the Northern Area] treats of the defense of the North. In the second volume of this work he advocates an appeasement policy and adds that it is not only desirable to treat the Ezo so that they will not adhere to the enemy but that they ought to be taught to take part in our national defense.

He explains his plans in detail. First he makes the point that Ezo is vast and difficult to defend and that Matsumae is a poor territory unsuited for agriculture. Should the Russians invade we would lose our northern frontier in no time. In case of war between Japan and Russia, Japan would have three disadvantages:

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1. Ezo is so big that we would need a tremendous number of people for the navy alone and the climate is so cold that we would be limited in drafting men used to such temperatures. The drafts would have to come from the Nambu and Tsugaru areas but the latter has a small population and the former, being near the Northern frontier, would be busy defending its own lands and could not spare any men for an emergency. So we have a problem of personnel.

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2. Even if the military personnel problem were solved, there remains the problem of transporting cereals to Ezo where they are not grown.

* Seiki Monogatari (Narrative of the western territory), *Nihon Keizai Shiso* 2: 171.

* Tokugawa Bakufu no Keizaigakusha Honda Toshiaki, 68.

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3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

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He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

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1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū^b sect on the mainland and this would

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^b The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

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lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki*:

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The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

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treatment and, having heard of the situation in Ezo, they have started to extend their influence there with the results that about twenty islands off Ezo have become subject to them. They have also paid frequent visits to East Ezo. We have been ordered to protect the island but it is so large and surrounded by water that it is impossible to fortify the entire island. The only solution is to treat the natives with kindness and make them satisfied with our government so that they will not be tempted by the persuasions of foreign governments. This method, if properly carried out, would end the threat of foreign invasion by fortifying not the island but the people themselves.

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However, the cost would be tremendous if goods were just given away to the Ezo without anything being received in return and we would only be encouraging the native to lose interest in his work and loaf. It is best to continue the year's old trade and to assign the operation to merchants. But place officials at each *Basho* to supervise the trade, inspect the goods, and see that no cheating is done and that honest goods are offered the Ezo. These inspectors should be posted every five to ten *ri* in a *Basho* and their house should be available to travelers. Fishing nets and other equipment should be available at these houses for the use of the Ezo and to those who work especially hard and catch more than the others a reward should be given. Under the Matsumae the Ezo have been forbidden to wear straw hats or sandals in rain or snow and anyone who did so was fined. This must be changed and, in addition, we must provide food and shelter for the poor and send doctors from the mainland to each *Basho* to care for the sick. Currency must be circulated to acquaint the natives with its convenience. Encourage the natives to work, permit them to use Japanese, and teach them the Five Cardinal Virtues^c and the Japanese alphabet. If any of them wish to follow our way of life, allow them to do so. Give them Japanese clothes, build them a Japanese house, teach them agriculture, and a century from now the entire island will look and be a part of our country. In the early days the Ezo occupied what is now Miyagi gun in Sendai and it has, over the years come into its present condition . . . so with the passage of years it would not be an impossible task to achieve the same with Ezo. And the gain to our country will be immeasurable. However, we should not expect rapid progress or we should fail. If we were to make them change their customs too rapidly, friction would occur, so let us wait until they are ready and willing to follow our ways. All in all it is a problem demanding patience. For the time being our concern is with their obedience and therefore officers should be sent to each *Basho* to govern.

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The book thus states the motive of Bakufu rule and recognizes the importance of a native policy in detail. The problem of an army is treated only as a means of carrying out a governing policy. Appeasement is primary and assimilation is to come gradually, the whole policy based on the belief that Russia was doing the same thing.

In conclusion it must be noted that, although both the intelligentsia and the government recognized the need for appeasement, benevolence, assimilation, and guidance, it was a recognition of needs based on national defense and not on a humane revulsion from the Matsumae oppression of the Ezo. There were those who said that the development of Ezo was "a great benevo-

^c Benevolence, justice, decorum, intelligence, good faith.

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lence" * and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods," * or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful" * but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

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Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

* Namikawa Temmin, *Hekikyōroku*.

* Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu*.

* Ezo Sōshi.

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is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

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7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

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8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

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3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

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ished and two judges were appointed in their place and in May of 1802 the Hakodate Magistracy was set up. In March of 1808 the Matsumae clan was relieved of all its territories in Ezo which were then brought under the Bakufu and, after moving the office of the Magistrate to Fukuyama, that office was renamed the Matsumae Magistracy. Four officials were in the office at Fukuyama while at Hakodate an Office for Investigation and Management was established. This system continued until 1821 when the Matsumae clan was restored to its former rule. Although changes in the names of officials and the scope of their jurisdiction had occurred, both the Commission and Magistracy were under the Council of State and thus they had jurisdiction over all affairs within their territories. Under the system of Commissioners there were such officials as Supervisors in charge of Ezo, Chief Treasurer, Treasurer, Auditor, Branch Treasurer, Traveling Inspector, Chief Constructor, Constructor and Field Inspectors, while under the Magistracy were the Branch Managers, Branch Investigators, and the Police Officers. The Magistrate and the Inspector sat alternately in Edo and Hakodate (or Fukuyama). Disregarding the post of Commissioner, since it was only a temporary office, we find that the offices and duties under the Magistracy are similar to the administrative pattern followed in such remote areas as Nagasaki and Sado. So the Bakufu did not set up any special administrative system in the Ezo colony.

Administration rested with the Commissioner or Magistrate and at important points offices were established where one or two officials called Resident Officers were stationed. To these posts were appointed constables or policemen. A Resident Officer was in charge of several *Basho* and his subordinates supervised the managers and interpreters employed in these *Basho* who engaged in trade with the Ezo, and they propitiated and educated the natives.

From time to time the Magistrate himself or an inspector went on tour. Although the order of 1799 laid down the general principles of a native policy, details had been left up to officials on the spot. Therefore, the executive officer of administration was the Resident along with the interpreters and guards, the latter two having been the executives prior to the new system. As this governmental system became established and stabilized, so did the society of the Ezo. We have already mentioned that in the earlier period there was some regulation of Ezo organization owing to mainland influence, and it is seen in the appointment of chiefs and influential people as *Otona* and *Kozukoi*. Now the Bakufu in order to enforce its regulations thought it necessary to change this Ezo organization.

For example, on Etorofu, which island the Bakufu viewed with concern, a system similar to that of the Japanese village was set up. The common Ezo who had been called *Utare* were renamed *Murakata* [villagers] while the name *Otona* was changed to *Nanushi* [village headman].

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*C48 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system
621 was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where
177 the authority of local officials had become so definite
*175 that it was necessary to establish new positions to
govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the
titles of *Sō Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Sō Kozukai* were
created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai*
and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The
Sō Otona was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*.
To this post a person from the most powerful family
was appointed. The orders of the government were
delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo ap-
pealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not
be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could
not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the
[124] officials.* The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those
of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the
Kozukai of a *Basho*. While a man's family background
was considered in making appointments to this post
because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a
person with the ability to control his fellows. Another
position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer]
who was an ordinary native either physically strong or
with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for
contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and
[A31] he inspected the exchange of gifts.¹⁰ According to the
Ezo Miyage this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and
Kozukai and although the *Miyagedori* received equal
treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had
no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai*. It is
probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo
or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona*
or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges
equal to those of the other ranks.

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

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*C48 At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall
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[203] following instructions.
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1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the
Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time
by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without
delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of
Bakufu management full respect is due all government
officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and
interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government
officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from man-
agers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as in-
structions from officials. However, if there is any doubt
concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention
of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary
steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to
understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

⁹ Tarao Tadarō, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands
expedition reports), 73.

¹⁰ *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17-18.

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 takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore, it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both parties will be able to understand what the other party is saying.

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 197 3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for this condition and desires to show the natives new methods of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished, all persons including *Otona* and all males should be encouraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials may at times give instructions without the aid of interpreters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese. This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo may be called upon to render help and it would be a great handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to do through interpreters. In addition there is only one interpreter and not more than four or five persons among the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there will be many officials going and coming and it will be most inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. However, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

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 [301] 4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The second time they are convicted they are punished and the third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large earlobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is handed back to the *Matsumae*. If those boys and girls who are to receive earrings and tattoos are restricted to those under two or three years of age, they would still be young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the *Basho* is handed back to the *Matsumae*.

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 629 It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi* in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the death penalty may be carried out only after legal action has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death. *Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administration. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi* has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

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hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

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There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

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5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

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6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administering directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

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7. It is desired to introduce Japanese-style houses and to this end the Ezo are encouraged to work hard. Clothing should also be earned and saved. And since there will be no custom of atonement in the future, it is not necessary to hide such treasured goods as cups in the mountains. These things should be kept in the house. It is suggested that in the future the Ezo move into Japanese villages in groups. We need people to till this broad land. The use of a sickle is a tedious and fruitless business whereas if the grass were simply burned in autumn not only would a lot of labor be saved but the ashes will serve as fertilizer to yield a better crop. Now at present, the Ezo live separately and isolated from each other and this makes it difficult to organize them and help them. Furthermore, the custom of hiding treasures in the countryside makes it impossible to burn off the grass. It is not necessary to move the Ezo at once but do it gradually. When it is done the labor situation will be greatly improved.

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8. There are bound to be some lazy and idle ones among the Ezo who will not work as well as cripples who must be given special work. These people will be given empty rice sacks by the posts and they will be taught to make straw sandals. Since the post will buy all their work, it should be of some help to them, enabling them to buy sake or whatever they wish with the money earned. These rice sacks will be given to anyone on request. The *Otona* should make this clear to all so that even fishermen during the periods of stormy weather or the winter months when they have extra time can make use of this time by weaving straw ropes and nets.

The above instructions are hereby given for the fifth time through the interpreters to the *Otona* and *Kozakoi*.

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August 1799 *Ohashi Zenshirō*
 This instruction is just one example taken from the *Tokachi Basha*. Its content simply ignores the sentiments of the natives and its reasoning in many instances is self-complacent. It is doubtful whether the intent of the officials was understood by the Ezo. However, we can see what policy was adopted and also that the officials were earnest and serious in their attitude.

III. THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

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The Bakufu took extreme care in executing its policy. For example, when the decision was made to assume power, orders were issued to the Matsumae stating that those managers, guards, and interpreters who wished to do so could retain their positions, that the Matsumae had to settle all accounts with the Ezo, even if such settlement involved prolonged negotiation, in order that the Bakufu inherit no disputes and that a statement be issued forbidding mistreatment of the Ezo.¹ The Bakufu particularly cautioned its own officials as to their attitudes and when the Commissioners were appointed they were under instruction to make native relations their prime consideration.² Furthermore, in

¹ Higashi Ezochi goyōchi ainari sōrō ni tsuki kore made aitsutome sōrō tsushi bannin e moshiwatatsu sho (Instructions to former interpreters and guards on the occasion of East Ezo becoming a Bakufu estate). Habuto Seiyō, *Kyume Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 542-543.

² Ezochi goyogakari no ōse watasarare sōrō kakitsuke (Written orders concerning the placement of Ezo under the Bakufu), *ibid.*, 323.

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the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.²

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

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The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

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The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

² Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

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Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

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This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,⁴ that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on, as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

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The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

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Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed

in taste.

⁴ *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

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in taste.⁵ Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.⁶

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.⁷ They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG*: "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."⁸ The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."⁹

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.¹⁰ This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and.

⁵ SHS 3: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

⁶ *Kusuri Basho Toriatsumakata Kokienki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

⁷ Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

⁸ *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 39.

⁹ SHS 3: 554.

¹⁰ *Bunka Sannen Taitamēshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonon Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

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since there were no exact standards for measuring values or setting exchange rates, the settlement of accounts was involved and clever contractors took advantage of this to cheat. The result was a growing native discontent. Toward the end of the Matsumae period rice was used as a basic measure of value but rice as a medium of currency had many drawbacks. Dishonest merchants lowered the quality or cheated in the weight and, since rice was used to express the value of commodities and was not itself used as a medium of exchange, the settlement of accounts remained extremely complicated. When the trade was extensive, this situation not only gave ample opportunities for dishonesty to the traders but it was a cause of misunderstanding which inflamed Ezo suspicions, even if a transaction had been carried out properly. Unfair practices could be checked by official supervision but this policy could only result in an increasing number of officials and even then it would be impossible to oversee every moment of a transaction. It was then, if the trade were to be remedied, needful to abandon the barter system so as to leave no room for dishonesty, to simplify accounts, and set standards of exchange by circulating money. The barter system had other flaws as well: (a) Rice was used as a value measurement but only when the value amounted to eight shō or more. When the value involved was less than eight shō goods cheaper than rice were given to the Ezo. For example, the cheapest needles were held at thirty-two to the sack of rice, which was equivalent to saying that a needle was worth two gō five shaku and, since this was the lowest value established, women and children who had only meagre amounts to trade received nothing in return but a cup of sake or a bowl of rice. (b) In the barter system the Ezo were forced to buy large amounts of goods at a time even if they did not need them. The main things they got in return were sake, rice, and tobacco, although some clothes and tools were traded. Since the Ezo had little comprehension of saving and used or squandered all their goods at once, in the belief that kept goods decreased in value, they were always poverty stricken. (c) Since the trade had been meant to bring relief to the Ezo, goods were distributed over as wide an area as possible. But this involved a great deal of labor as well as expense in transportation, and neither side profited, thus making it difficult to expand the scope of the trade. So the disadvantages of rice as a measure of value lay in the difficulty with which it was divided, stored, and transported. These faults were pointed out to the Bakufu in the written report of the Commissioners who recommended the use of iron coins. The suggestion was accepted and in 1799 the government sent 10,000 iron kan to Ezo for circulation.

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It was intended that these coins would not only be used in trade but as wages and that their use would eliminate the historic fraud and cheating of the trade. The coins were iron because of the mercantilist views of the Bakufu which was afraid of sending precious

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metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Esojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.¹¹

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,¹² they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.¹³ In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.¹⁴ These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

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A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

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B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.¹⁵

¹¹ Ezoichi ni tessu tsuyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation, of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fuzoku Isan* 2 (3).

¹² This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Haasabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

¹³ "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 3: 560.

¹⁴ "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chokyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyuroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chokyaku* count, 100 mon equalled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

¹⁵ Ezoichi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zanjijōrishi oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

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So the circulation of coins had its advantages and production increased and the Ezo were happy, although some criticized it and some misunderstood it because the issuing of coins was a complicated matter.¹⁶

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The Commissioners had been most anxious over the term of circulation but the Bakufu did, at the end of its period of control, take up all coins.¹⁷ The use of coins was pretty much limited to East Ezo and was not practiced in West Ezo for, in later years, in contrast to the price list of trade goods in East Ezo which was expressed in terms of money, that of West Ezo was expressed in terms of rice.¹⁸ Coins were used to a great extent, however, in East Ezo and we have a great deal of evidence from travel diaries of the period on that point.¹⁹

C. STABILIZATION OF EXCHANGE RATES

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As has been mentioned the rate of exchange in Ezo rose and fell with market changes in Japan. These changes increased the suspicions of the natives who understood nothing of such matters and it also gave the contractors an excuse for crooked manipulations.

In order to remove these defects the Bakufu established a fixed price for both coins and rice, applicable only in Ezo, not to be changed, and it further ordered that the exchange rate be fixed as of the time and place

Bakufu Office of Accounts regarding the government of Ezo and the reply of the Hakodate Magistrate) from Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō* (Documentary history of Hokkaidō) 1: 130.

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¹⁶ "When iron coins came into use they were placed on the market at the rate of one kan 200 mon per gold bu but the market price went to one kan 400 mon per gold bu. Since these coins had originally cost a little more than 1 kan 600 mon, it made for the highest exchange rate in Japan with one ryō equal to three gold bu. Carpenters and woodcutters hired from the Nambu and Tsugaru clans exchanged their money at the rate of three bu for a gold ryō. A person hired at a daily wage of four momme of silver was getting a real wage of three momme. The daily cost of tobacco and sake amounted to a considerable sum and it led to complaints by the hired laborers that they could not make a living. The Ezo hearing all this began to think that the government trade was being carried out at a great profit. This has its effect on the government's prestige and is most regrettable." Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi in Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (8).

¹⁷ "Ever since the land was returned to the landlords in the Bunsei [1818-1829] era the use of gold and silver was forbidden and travelling expenses were paid in the form of rice, sake and other goods. . . ." Hori Oribenoshō Tadashi, *Ezochi zenni tsuyō tetsusen ittate kata ukagai* [An inquiry into the use of coins and the minting of iron coins], *Dai Nihon Kōmonjo Bakumatsu Gaikoku Kankei Bunsho* 13: 177.

¹⁸ *Koekishin nedan no koto* (Prices of trade goods) in *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* 2 (3).

¹⁹ "For a few coins girls with Karafuto beads are very happy to part with them. From Yubutsu onward coins are in use and the people there, regarding coins as the most valuable of treasures, would gladly kneel in gratitude for one or two mon." *Nishi Ezo Takashima Nikki* (West Ezo Takashima Diary). "Yubutsu . . . people in this area were the first to grasp the use of coins. They were also skilled in carving and their livelihood depended on the making of toys and other articles." *Shūhoku Roku* (Records of the Far North).

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of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiaige Sôrô Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." The *Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta Basho), written in 1809, says:

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All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon*:

Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho*, and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.²⁰ This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

²⁰ In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his *Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zônji yori sôraisha enryônaka moshiaigu beki yo ôsê kikasare sôrô* (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shô is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

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 *648 enable the mainlanders to make a profit,²¹ under the
 *175 apprehension that the profit from the native trade
 457 constituted the financial resources of that island and
 436 that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped
 at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the
 expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo
 and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The
 established exchange rate is discussed in Part One,
 Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was
 maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was
 retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that
 the rate was not observed in practice but on the other
 hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived
 for trade purposes.

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

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 *648 Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of
 *175 idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The
 461 Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living.
 177 The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not
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 465 cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned,
 fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in
 rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake
 provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo be-
 came extra skilled at his work he received added pay
 or reward and it was made known that pay varied
 according to one's diligence. The result was that more
 Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In
 Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who
 fished or worked at the posts received very little in
 return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

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 21 "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the
 officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, since it is
 said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight
 plus a substantial margin of profit, it seems that this trade bears
 a quite large profit." Kansei jūchinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi
 Sadaichi moshige sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi,
 chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices
 at Niikappu Bashi before government intervention [A] as
 seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo
 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in
Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu
two Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō (Documents
 pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu Bashi
 to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

Dried Salmon

Dried Mushrooms

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|---|--|
| A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack
of rice. | 50 for one cup of sake. |
| B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack
of rice.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal
448 mon. One bundle of
dried salmon equal 120 mon) | 50 for one cup refined sake.
15 for one cup unrefined sake.
(One cup refined sake equal 50
mon)
(One cup unrefined sake equal
15 mon)
(One mushroom equal 1 mon) |

Boiled Sea Cucumber

- A. 40 for one shō of rice.
 B. 56 for one shō of rice.
 (One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber
 equal 1 mon)

*648 A After the Bakufu intervened, more and more of the
 *195 Kunashiri Ezo remained on their own island to fish,
 [161] and the population which had been some 300 in 1799
 [51] increased to over 530 by 1801.²² This situation did
 not, as we shall see later, mean that the Ezo were better
 off, since it only helped their masters to accelerate the
 destruction of those natural resources upon which the
 Ezo depended for their livelihood; yet it does serve as
 a proof that better treatment of the Ezo brought about
 an improvement in industry. Farming was also en-
 [241] couraged by the Bakufu where the Matsumae had
 discouraged it. Indeed, in some *Basho* it had been
 entirely prohibited since it required work during the
 fishing season. Even after the Bakufu took over the
 islands the economy was based on hunting and fishing
 and, since these products were abundant, there was no
 F need to farm. But the popular Japanese belief of the time
 [181] was that eating meat was barbaric and eating cereals
 was civilized, and therefore it was felt that a change in
 the eating habits of the Ezo would be a step toward
 assimilation.²³ In order to encourage farming, crops
 were raised near the agency as an example and the Ezo
 were urged to take an interest.²⁴ They were also
 A constantly indoctrinated in the view that living on
 [24] cereals was far superior to living on meat. According
 to a report made by Aoyagi Teiichi in 1799, farming
 implements and seed were given to the Ezo at Shamani
 at their own request. While it seems that the crops
 grown by the *Kaiho* did not turn out satisfactorily,²⁵ it
 was not this that eventually dampened the Bakufu's
 enthusiasm for agriculture but the growing opinion
 which held that if you changed the Ezo to farmers and
 the experiment did not result satisfactorily you would
 have a famine.²⁶ Mulling this over the Bakufu aban-
 F [241] doned its positive attitude toward farming in 1802.
 *648 A Actually it seems that the real reason the government
 *195 changed its mind was that it did not favor anything
 241 which required more of a labor force than did hunting

²² Kunashiri to ittai no yosu moshilage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the general situation in and around Kunashiri Island) in *SHS* 5: 800.

²³ "Methods of cultivation shall be taught gradually so that they will learn to live on cereals. They shall also be educated so as to be accustomed to the laws of Japan." Ezochi goyō shui shihaimuki ei moshiwatasare sōrō kakitori (Notes on instructions to managers on the occasion of Ezo becoming a Bakufu domain), Suppl. 8 of *Kyumei Kōki* in *SHS* 5: 800.

F [241] ²⁴ "Care shall be exercised in encouraging the Ezo to take up cultivation. For the time being our retainers and servants shall set an example, near their lodgings, by tilling the land so that the Ezo will gradually become interested in the work." *Ibid.* 3: 558.

²⁵ "According to instructions small patches of land have been put into cultivation in Urakawa, Harato, and Shamani where fairly good results were had on soy beans, Indian beans, millet, barnyard grass, sesame, red saffron, hemp, upland rice, barley, eggplant, squash, radishes, vegetables, and cowpea. The results from red saffron and hemp were especially good." *Ibid.* 5: 565.

²⁶ "Mumei no gososhō ittashi sōrō mono kore ari osage ni ainaru gotōsho no ikken," *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 2 in *SHS* 5: 601.

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and fishing, even though farming in Ezo was primitive.²⁷ It had other uses for Ezo labor. But despite the change in attitude of the Bakufu and the active discouragement of farming when the Matsumae resumed control, the natives began gradually to grow crops on a rude, small scale,²⁸ and by the end of the Bakufu period farming had spread from Masuge in the north to Kushiro in the east.

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3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE KURILES

Although the government paid much attention to Hokkaidō, it was in the Kuriles that they put their greatest effort and where they achieved good results. During the Early Matsumae period *Basho* had been set up as far as Kunashiri but all attempts to develop Etorofu had failed.¹ When the Russians came to Etorofu in 1785 that island became the vital center of Russo-Japanese negotiations. When the Bakufu stepped in, Kondō Juzo was appointed to take charge of the development of Etorofu.

However, since it was first necessary to find a good sea route, Takadaya Kahei was sent to inspect the surrounding waters and when, in 1800, a safe route was determined, a vessel was sent with rice, salt, tobacco, clothing, cloth, and tools to be given to the people of Etorofu. Seventeen fishing grounds were established, a post opened, and guards stationed to teach new fishing techniques. At that time no Japanese vessels visited Etorofu, the Ezo coming, from time to time, in small boats, to Akkeshi, Kiritappu, and Kunashiri to trade. They had, therefore, insufficient food and clothes, their homes were small or else holes in the ground, their clothes were animal skins, bird feathers, and grass, and they even had to share a single pot for cooking among several families. They had no nets for salmon and trout and, finally, the climate was so cold that many of them died of frost and hunger. It was little wonder that the Ezo of Etorofu were happy to work hard at fishing under instruction.²⁹

The result in East Ezo was a success in that the Bakufu's primary aim was achieved. The Ezo were happy, trusted Japanese business transactions, and became more favorable to the Japanese government. The

²⁷ The agriculture of the Ezo could never have been developed to such a stage when the Japanese at Matsumae were still in the stage of burning over fields. See Takakura Shinichirō, *Ainu no Nōgyō* (Ainu agriculture) in *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

²⁸ "When millet and barnyard grass were grown near Shamani where the soil was fertile the Ezo approached and requested that they also be permitted to grow such crops. They were given species of these plants and tools were loaned as well which seemed to make them most happy. However, although they worked enthusiastically for a month or two nothing seems to have resulted." *Kansei juichimen okonin metsuke*. . .

²⁹ Kondō Juzo, *Shoku Ezo Sōshi* [More tales of Ezo], Book II, and Etorofuto ijin no fūzoku kai sōrō gi ni tsuki moshigae sōrō kakitsuke (Written opinion on the problem of changing the customs of the Ezo on Etorofu), *Kyūmei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 of *SHS* 5: 648.

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Ezo Zakki [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

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The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.³⁰ Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.³¹ It was therefore decided to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.³² The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

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³⁰ Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gajiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

³¹ Okamoto Ryunosuke, *Nichiro koshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

³² According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu: "We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

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*648 change conditions would remain much the same and
 *195 they were told to report any dishonest conduct on the
 439 part of merchants to inspectors, thus placing a check
 A on the actions of the contractors.⁴³

4. THE MANAGEMENT OF KARAFUTO

In 1807 as a result of its satisfactory progress in East Ezo the Bakufu assumed control over all Matsumae territory. Partly responsible for this was the fact that, although the Russians had landed in Karafuto in 1789, the Matsumae had taken no positive action there and

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 section with this the following instructions have been received.

1) Existing laws shall be rigidly observed. (2) The vessel to be used for the voyage shall proceed to Ezo flying a Japanese flag. The utmost effort shall be exerted to prevent damage to the ship from unfavorable weather. Measures to be taken in the event of distress due to hull damage shall be the same as taken in the past and the interpreters will so inform the Ezo. (3) The Ezo shall be encouraged to increase the output of goods to be sent to Nagasaki, if any. Strict controls will be established against illegal trade and the movements of merchandise closely checked so that, regardless of whether or not the goods are native products, they shall not be illegally disposed of. This instruction being but recently issued it shall be announced immediately. (4) The oft repeated instruction that the Ezo must not be approached with evil intentions shall be observed. (5) Interpreters and guards shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo residing in their *Basho*. However, the *Unjōya* shall be primarily responsible for caring for the ill and needy Ezo. (6) No illicit trade shall be had in silk as per instructions and no goods shall be purchased directly [from the Ezo]. (7) Personal greed is to be restrained and the Ezo are not to be plundered but trading at the *Basho* shall follow the accustomed forms.

The undersigned fully acknowledge these instructions. In case of a violation which may become apparent later not only the interpreters and guards of a *Basho* but also the contractor will be punished. A report shall be made to the office upon a safe return from Etorofu."

Date

Etorofu *Basho*

Takadaya Kahei (seal)

Name and seal of Manager, Interpreter and Guard.

Addressed to the officials at Okinokuni.

⁴³ Instructions to the Ezo. (1) The three prohibitions shall be observed. (2) The Shogunate shall be respected and parents cared for. Families are encouraged to live in harmony and observe the law. (3) Quarrels are prohibited. Let friendship reign. Plotting will not be tolerated. (4) When a boy reaches a certain age he is to be allowed to take a wife. However, polygamy is prohibited. (5) Despite the fact that the contract system has been adopted, no change whatsoever shall be made in matters of fishing or trading. It is therefore requested that all Ezo work hard under the contractors toward the goal of eternal prosperity. (6) There have been no changes in our policy toward the Ezo. However, should something be thought unreasonable or should doubtful matters arise, the incident is to be reported to the guardhouse. (7) The reason that government officials are being sent to the island is to insure that the livelihood of the Ezo is protected. This considerate conduct should be fully appreciated and all efforts are to be made in the future to keep the Ezo from difficulties. (8) Illness should be reported to the post to which doctors have been dispatched and medicine sent. This information is to be conveyed to the Ezo and it should also be known that any sighting of a foreign vessel is to be reported to the *Kaishō* and action taken accordingly. *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 592-593.

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indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.³⁴ Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.³⁵ While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.³⁶ The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Orokko. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Orokko. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku*; brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or other skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.³⁷ This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo.³⁸

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³⁴ In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.
³⁵ *Ich en jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishlage sōrō kakitsuke, Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

³⁶ "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

³⁷ Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari*. The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with crysanthemum shapes.

Chinese ebins of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [*Martes Melampus*] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henryō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

³⁸ A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called *Ōtsuku* type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

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and it was an historic trade for the Japanese.³⁸ The goods in this trade were highly valued, considered as a part of the products of Matsumae, and even offered as gifts to the Bakufu.³⁹ Although these goods were all called Santan goods, they originally came from China. They were sold to Manchurians who took them to a trading post on the lower Amur where they were exchanged for the furs of the Santan who, in turn, brought them to Karafuto. In later years Karafuto Ezo went over to Santan and traded with the natives there or directly with the Manchurians. There were two main routes by which goods came in. The one in which goods were brought directly to Shiranushi by the Santan and the other where a Santan could cross the mountains from the west coast to the east coast to trade with the Orocco for animal skins. The Orocco would, in turn, trade these goods plus seal oil, at Roreinaibutsu, for the rice, yeast, tobacco, and skins which the Ezo of Sôya or Southern Karafuto brought to that spot. The latter route was insignificant in the amount of trade it handled.⁴⁰ Actually, the Santan trade was small compared with the Chinese trade at Nagasaki since boats only large enough for five men were used. But the wares handled were Chinese and it was Bakufu policy to permit foreign trade only at Nagasaki, so the government could not ignore what was an illegal trade—particularly after it assumed direct control of Karafuto.⁴¹ The trade had also assumed a political significance which placed it outside the sphere of an ordinary business transaction. We have a situation parallel to that when the Japanese first gained control of Ezo. A business relation is initiated, disputes develop, and the Santan, backed by the Manchurians, subdue the Ezo. The trade then assumes a tributary aspect with obligations on the Ezo and the Manchurians, as they had done with the Santan, establish officials among the Ezo who are called *Harata* and *Kashinda*,^b similar to the *Otona* and *Kozukai* of the Japanese system. These officials

found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidô. Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidô Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collection of materials on the primitive culture of Hokkaidô), intro. and pp. 19 ff.

³⁸ SHS 1: 79.

³⁹ "It was said that blue beads were brought into Karafuto from North Korai [the Korean kingdom of Silla] . . . although they were called Tsugaru insect nests . . . a careful inspection revealed that they were not the nests of insects and it was decided at this time that they be presented [to the Shogun]." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

⁴⁰ Karafuto narabi ni santanjin no gi moto banin e aitzune sôrô kakitsuke sashiage sôrô ni tsuki soesho kakitsuke migi (Materials attached to reports submitted by former guards in response to queries concerning Karafuto and the Santan). *Kyumei Kôki* 7 in SHS 5: 806 ff.

⁴¹ "It has been announced officially that trade will be opened with Ezo and that trading posts will be established. The fact that trade which heretofore has been confined to the West will be opened in the East is truly a great turn of policy." *Ibid.*, 5: 764.

^b J. Harrison, *Kita Yezo Zuzetsu* or a description of the island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsô, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 99 (2): 100 fn., 1955.

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were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony⁴² while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.⁴³

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This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidō, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.⁴⁴ So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.⁴⁵

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The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sōya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orocco trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurō in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

⁴² *Kita Ezo Zuesetsu*, Suppl.

⁴³ Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyōgi no onomuki moshige sōrō kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki Suppl.* 6 in *SHS* 3: 765.

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⁴⁴ "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zuesetsu*.

⁴⁵ *Hokui Dan* 4.

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must be paid off and the Santan trade stopped or the trade be continued under strict supervision. He proposed these alternatives to the Matsumae Magistracy which thereupon ordered him to settle the accounts between the Ezo and the Santan. Denjurō issued a notice to all Santan who had made loans to the Ezo to report to his office within three years and, when they did appear, with their witnesses, the Ezo was required to pay as much as he could and the Bakufu paid the remainder. As evidence of settlement, the name of the Santan was registered and he had to make out a receipt. When the Santan heard of this state of affairs a great number of them came to claim their debts and by 1812 the debts called in amounted to 2,975 marten skins from the Karafuto Ezo and 2,571 skins from the Sōya Ezo, a total of 5,546 marten skins of which the Ezo themselves paid only 499 skins, the government paying the remaining 5,047 in the form of 2523½ otter skins (the otter skin being equal to two marten skins), at a total value of more than 131 ryō.⁴⁶ Since at that time there was definite knowledge that of the number of Ezo taken to Santan three were from Karafuto and two from Sōya; these were returned after their debts were paid.

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Having had all their debts settled, the Ezo were prohibited from making private loans from the Santan and as a sworn token of this the *Otomo* in Sōya and Karafuto were requested to deposit *Makiri* [Ezo swords] at Japanese headquarters. It was also commanded that the presentation of Santan goods to the Matsumae at *Omusha* be stopped and that local goods be substituted, thus blocking any further loans.

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The attitude of the Santan toward the Bakufu officials was, at first, as contemptuous as their attitude toward the Ezo, but after Denjurō ordered (1) that hats be knocked off if they were worn into the official quarters; (2) that Santan trying to enter the post with their shoes on be beaten on the shins; (3) that pipes be stricken out of the mouths of those inside his offices and that those who did not observe the regulations be punished, there was a change in their behavior. As soon as Denjurō saw that he had subdued the Santan, he set strict rules for the trade which he permitted to be carried on at Shiranushi only. His subordinates directed the trade and, when they had concluded their business, the Santan had to return to their own country.⁴⁷ The skin exports of Karafuto were bought by the government which also monopolized imports. Denjurō established fixed prices and in general operated the trade to his advantage.⁴⁸ His motive, according to

⁴⁶ Kita Ezojin Sōya Ezojin Santanjim yori koshaku hensai kata shiwakechō (Record of debts paid to the Santan by the North Ezo and the Sōya Ezo).

⁴⁷ Hokui Dan 4.

⁴⁸ The trade rates fixed at this period are omitted since they can be found in Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō*, 93-94, and other published sources. It is apparent, as will be seen below, that the trade was conducted to the advantage of Japan. The trade rate comparison given below is from Karafuto narabi

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 *648 the author of *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* [History of
 *175 the Administration of Karafuto], was to obtain profit by
 439 encouraging trade and the reason he fixed the prices was
 not to benefit the Ezo but to set low prices on Santan
 wares." This reasoning seems too far-fetched, for the
 Bakufu's intent in controlling the Santan trade was to
 regulate the trade rather than make money from it.
 It is true that this was not done merely for the benefit
 of the Ezo but it did gratify the natives. In addition
 it was reported that *Basho* managers were making huge
 profits from fishing and other industries, after this
 situation came about, because no Ezo were fleeing from
 debts; instead they were working safely under Japanese
 rule.

By controlling the Santan trade the Bakufu not
 only prevented Manchuria from aggrandizing Karafuto,
 which could have happened had no steps been taken,
 but an illegal trade was checked and help was extended
 to the Ezo which freed them of their debts and in-
 creased their labor power.

IV. THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

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 C36 I have noted previously that in order to eliminate
 177 native complaints and, at the same time, to provide that
 439 work which would raise the material standard of living,
 the Bakufu encouraged industries, opened up *Basho*
 and stopped malpractice in trade by supervising or
 directly conducting the trade itself. In addition when
Basho officials were transferred every several years the
Otona of the *Basho* were summoned to appear before
 the Magistrate at Matsumae in order to impress the
 natives with the dignity and power of that official.
 Furthermore, at least once a year *Omusha* was held
 at each *Basho* as a measure of presenting gifts and
 giving aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Doctors were
 sent to look after the health of the natives and an effort
 was made to assimilate the Ezo spiritually. The fol-
 lowing is devoted to the actions and problems con-
 cerned with the above.

1. CEREMONIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PROTOCOL

I have mentioned that in the Early Matsumae period
 it had been the custom for the various *Basho* chiefs to
 ni Santanjin no gi aitarume sōrō kakitome (An inquiry into
 matters concerning the Santan and Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* 7.

	1802	1809
Chinese cotton	3 otter skins	2 marten skins or 1 otter skin
smoking pipe	1 otter skin	1 marten skin or ½ otter skin
brocade	15 otter skins	about 30 marten skins or at least 15 marten skins
brocade gowns	24 sacks of rice each of 8 shō or 48 otter skins	at least 42 marten skins or at least 21 otter skins

⁴⁹ *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* 1, and for the period prior to the
 Restoration see 2: 29 ff. See also Takakura Shinichirō, Kinsei
 ni okeru Karafuto o chūshin to shita Nichiman kōeki (Recent
 Japan-Manchurian trade centering around Karafuto) in 1 of
Hoppo Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku.

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visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to impress the natives with its authority and to treat with them in various ways. This custom was continued by the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into submission and their customs thereby changed was later cancelled by orders from high authority. This move was protested by the Commissioner in a memorandum of March, 1800:

The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.¹

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It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion was put into practice.² At that time the Bakufu ruled that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae. These representatives were accompanied by officials from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits were made periodically. According to the *Nikkappu Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the administration of that *Basho*,³ their turn came every five years. When the year of the visit came around, the names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*, *Kozukai*, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted, together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part of February. The group would set off during the latter part of March when the roads were open. The expenses involved in making the journey were borne by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-five mon per person per day plus whatever added expenses were incurred if extra people or horses had to be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with the fishing season which came about every other year,

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¹ Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshiaige sōrō kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyūmei Kōki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

² "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." *Nikkappu Basho hikiwatashi shō* (Documents concerning the transfer of *Nikkappu Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

³ *Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chōsho* (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fuzoku Isan* I: 9.

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 * 648 since manpower during the summer could not be dis-
 221 pensed with.*
 * 175 After the tributary visit to the Magistrate the group
 A reported to the Hakodate Office and presented gifts.
 * 648 Another report was submitted after the party had
 431 returned to their *Basho*.⁵ The gifts presented con-
 433 sisted chiefly of products of the *Basho* or of handicraft
 work made by the natives during the winter.⁶ For ex-
 ample we have a list of gifts given by the Niikappu
Basho in 1818.

Gifts to Matsumae

Ten Ezo handmade towel hangers
 Fifteen knife sheaths
 Twenty spoons
 Twenty writing brush holders
 Twenty spools
 Two hundred dried sea slugs

Gifts to Hakodate

Five Ezo handmade towel holders
 Ten knife sheaths
 Ten spoons
 Ten writing brush holders
 Ten spools
 One hundred twenty dried sea slugs

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 * 648 The ceremony for the interview and the presentation
 516 of gifts by the Magistrate was probably more or less
 431 the same as that of the Later Matsumae period and
 the later Bakufu Administrative Period but materials for
 this particular period are not available. However, as
 we shall see in the next chapter, it is apparent that in
 order to achieve dignity, the ceremony was conducted
 with grandeur, with various presents being given to
 the natives, and the entire affair was used by the
 authorities to establish a mutual understanding. Cere-
 monies similar to the above but on a smaller scale were
 held at the meeting house, tax office, or guardhouse of

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 [596] * "The annual visits of gratitude which, taking place at the
 B31 beginning of the year, are made to the Magistracy by those
 Ezo with titles, will take place once every five years. During
 the year prior to the year of the visit the *Basho* will be
 notified and handicrafts and other presents shall be prepared
 during the leisure of winter. Lists of those Ezo who are to
 attend will also be prepared and the presents when ready will
 be brought to the guardhouse where they will be examined and
 sealed. If the *Basho* engages in trout fishing and the year
 happens to be an abundant one, the Ezo may request the
 guardhouse to postpone their visit until the following year.
 One *Otona* and one *Kozukai* will make the visit from each
Basho and the number of persons will be kept down to a
 necessary minimum." Bunsei mizunoeuma nishichi hikiwatashi
 ensetsusho (Instructions pertaining to the transfer of the
 Western territories in the year 1822).

⁵ "Orei Ezojin. . ."

⁶ "Presents from the Ezo consisted of eagle tails, rush mats
 and other goods obtained in the *Basho*. . ." "Kusuri *Basho*
 hikiwatashi ikken. . ."

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each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

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The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the *Matsumae* to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of natives. In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken

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care of: (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

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1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

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3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai*.) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than *Uruppu* are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kazukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

¹ *Ezo Fuzoku Issen* 2: 1.

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the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806-1807.* Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.*

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2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

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While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."¹⁰

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However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikashesho* [Instructions to be read at *Omusha*] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

Otona and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

* Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

* Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsha* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287-289.

¹⁰ Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

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Although a good example of this type of action cannot be found it is confirmed by the Supplement to *Kyumei Kōki* which states that when officials came on inspection trips the Ezo flocked to express their gratitude for "the necessary aid given to the aged and those with incurable diseases."¹¹ It cannot be true, as was then believed, that the Ezo were all an ignorant and helpless people but their livelihood did depend on nature and was therefore at the mercy of natural calamity and famine which could result in the starvation of many.¹² The Bakufu was seriously interested in this problem and ordered each *Basho* to store away part of its produce to relieve the Ezo of the fear of famine and to extend relief whenever there was danger of such an event. Part of the *Kahei ukeoi no uchi nainai bannin no kokorourusho* [Secret Instructions to Guards during the contract period Kahei] on Etorofu deals with this:

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1. The preparation of dried trout by villagers. This task has, in the past, been carried out during the latter part of the fishing season. But recently there have been years when the season has lasted only a day or two and therefore it is advised that this task be started immediately after the season opens. First of all a drying rack should be set up at a sunny spot and the fish, the amount of which is to be determined by the size of a family, be dried. Some families may require a total of 300 bundles, some 500 or 1,000 or even 1,500.

All women and those aged capable of working should be allotted this task and the needed amount must be ready by the end of the season.

2. Estimation of the amount of dried fish. The necessary amount per person, regardless of age, is 2 tails per day or 3 bundles per month. From November to March the total amount per person would be 15 bundles or 1,500 bundles for 100 people. Amounts needed shall be calculated according to the above.

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Thus the contractors oversaw the preparation of winter provisions, a job which, till then, had been carried on by the natives of their own volition. It was natural for the contractors to assume this responsibility because their industrial plans included utilizing all Ezo manpower and it was also one of the means by which the surplus production of the Ezo was absorbed. Nevertheless, the Ezo were now able to secure their food supply throughout the winter and in case of short-

¹¹ Kunashiri to chiri sono hoka no gi Shozamon moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Shozamon on the geography and other matters pertaining to Kunashiri Island) in *Kyumei Kōki*. SHS 5: 789, states, "Since proper treatment has been given to those persons obedient to their parents and to those who are diligent and commendable and to the aged and the sick, the natives seem quite satisfied and on my own (Habuto Seiyō . . . the author) recent tour of the island the *Otona* frequently came to me to express their gratitude."

¹² Takakura Shinichirō, Tokugawa jidai ni okeru Ezojinko genshō no jijitsu oyobi sono genin ni taisuru ichi kosatsu (A study of the cause and effects of the decrease in Ezo population during the Tokugawa period), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 5 (4): 92-93.

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 age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikizatasu ensetsusho*:

In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

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 As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,¹³ while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.¹⁴ All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.¹⁵

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

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 The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

¹³ Nishichi Ezoin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiaige sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*). *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

¹⁴ *Hokui Dan* 4.

¹⁵ "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . ."

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forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.¹⁶ Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese administration.¹⁷ The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.¹⁸ In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.¹⁹ Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations were hired.

¹⁶ Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552-553.

¹⁷ Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

¹⁸ Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku; You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatōishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

¹⁹ "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoema seiichi. . ."

* 648 were hired.²⁰ Medicine was supplied by the authorities
 * 175 and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.²¹

One package of powder medicine 3 bu in silver
 Five pieces of plaster each two inches square 3 bu in silver
 Moxa treatment 100 mon per treatment
 Medicine for eye diseases 1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.²² This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

²⁰ Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Bashō* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Bashō*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Bashō* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Bashō*. Each *Koishō* in the *Bashō* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request. We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812

To The Bakufu

The Government of Hakodate

Kishuya Kihei (Seal)

Miura Gentoku (Seal)

²¹ Bunsei mizumoeuma seiichi.²² According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . ." it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

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 Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.²³ Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.²⁴ The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

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 Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.²⁵ Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

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 The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents." and he had the entire family of Apepana

²³ That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

²⁴ An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Hisashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in *Usu Basko*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

²⁵ *Hokkaidō Shi* 13.

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moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."²⁶ It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

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No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.²⁷ The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.²⁸

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Ohara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806-1807²⁹ and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.³⁰ When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banrido Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

5. EDUCATION

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A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

²⁶ See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

²⁷ In Vol. 1 of *Hiyashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

²⁸ In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furuwento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

²⁹ Hotta Settsu no Kamii. . . . *Kyūme Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 3: 1215.

³⁰ *Hokui Dan*.

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TSARIST RUSSIA R2

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I have previously noted that Russian missionaries were at work in the Kuriles attempting to convert the natives. In 1747 the Abbot Hokoucheski of Kamchatka sent the priest Iyosap to Horomushiro Island where he baptized fifty-six natives, and in 1756 a church was built there to promote missionary work. In this manner Russian influence gradually advanced southward along the Kuriles. This came to the attention of the Bakufu in 1786 when an investigating party submitted a detailed report on the religion of the Russians residing on Etorofu.³¹ Great anxiety arose when it was learned that the belief of the Russians was none other than that of prohibited Christianity. Honda Toshiaki on hearing of this situation from Mogami Tokunai stated,

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it is the Russians who have brought about the present situation. They are quite popular with the natives. It is said that the Russians are setting up crosses and are preaching to the natives of the sacred character and the effectiveness of the cross when worshipped. . . . The Russians are joyful whenever a native worships this sacred cross and they give him many presents and encourage him in his faith.³²

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He continued in his warning:

If the present situation continues to prevail, it is said that the Russians will bring images of Christ to be worshipped by the natives saying that worship of these images will bring fulfillment of wishes as quick as lightning and they will teach the words of prayer to the Ezo. This prayer is that of Christianity which is strictly forbidden in our country and the image of Christ to be sent to the Ezo of Etorofu for worship is similar to that image used on a copper plate in Nagasaki on which people trod during the investigations of Christianity. The contradiction would be too great were the Ezo left free to worship this same image.³³

³¹ "As can be seen by the illustration, it is called a cross or a *Koniatru*. Since the believers were devoted to and worshipped idols similar to those of the prohibited perverted religion, an investigation into its theory was conducted and the following was revealed by a Russian:

There is no special secret in the religion of the Russians. The religion consists of worshipping the Creator, conducting oneself righteously, and, in order to teach the gospel to the ignorant, idols are used. The form of the [Japanese] number ten resembles the cross. The Buddha *Hohomaderi* was a virgin and a wise woman who, receiving the Holy Spirit, gave birth to a baby boy. This boy, with the hope of serving the people, went about teaching his doctrine. However, he was punished on a false charge. Despite adversity his doctrinal teaching continued and he came to life after he was crucified and he assured the people that heaven was open to those who would observe the fivefold moral code and practice the five religious austerities and who would conduct themselves righteously. 'Priests of this religion do not shave their heads nor do they remain unmarried.' *Ezo Jui*.

³² Honda Toshiakira, *Sekijin Nihonkoku e hyochaku ni nazora e kinnen shigeshige toroi suru ni iki aru koto* (Frequent visits of Russians to Japan in recent times under the guise of being castaways). Written in 1791.

³³ Mogami Tokunai dict., Honda Toshiakira ed., *Hokuhen Kinpiroku* (Secret records of the northern territories). Written in 1795.

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Tsarist Russia R2

As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.²⁴

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.

2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.

3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.

4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804²⁵

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.²⁶ On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

²⁴ Shibata Sadakichi, *Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite* (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

²⁵ *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

²⁶ "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020-1021.

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ploitation of mercenary and avaricious colonists, played a role of almost immeasurable influence. Good examples of this are the Puritans who left their home under a yoke of religious persecution to cross to undeveloped North America and the Catholic priests who, enduring danger and difficulty, acted as evangelists to create a Kingdom of the Spirit in the lands colonized by Spain and Portugal. In the history of Japan's colonial Northeast the records show that Buddhism was encouraged as a part of a policy of assimilation and rule.²⁷ There are, however, no records of the role of religion under the Matsumae who had no colonization policy anyway, although the Japanese population of the early Matsumae area was reasonably large and a number of temples were built. Some Ezo may have been converted to religion under the Matsumae but the basic and main purpose of religion in that period was to cater to Japanese needs and not to proselyte. Nevertheless, despite the lack of records, there was some pre-Bakufu Buddhist influence in the Northeast. Leaving aside the legend of St. Nichiji who is said to have crossed to Manchuria from Ezo in the Shōō period [1288-1292], there is the example of Kaiki who is said to have built the Zenkōji temple at Usu in the Tencho period [824-833] and therefore must have preached to the natives living near the temple. It is also possible that other Buddhist priests such as Enku²⁸ went to Ezo to teach the way of the Buddha but there are no records and only glimpses such as the following passage in *Igen Zokwa*:

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There are, in a temple at Usu in East Ezo, small bells and a large rosary used for prayers to be repeated a million times and it is said that the Ezo come to the temple to pray a million times and since Usu is located near Japan there are a number of Ezo who have learned to speak Japanese which they use in saying their prayers and masses.

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It should be noted that the Bakufu, originators of a colonial policy, included religious activities as part of their policy although their motives may have been mixed and the priests, although their efforts are not comparable to the missionary activities of the religions of other countries, did strive to help the Ezo. The priest Ranshū of the Zenkōji temple wrote a "Guide to Posterity" for the Ezo and in May, 1807, when foreign ships appeared in Tsugaru Strait and Russian men of war invaded Etorofu, he set up Buddhist banners at various points to be guarded by Ezo and he taught the Ezo to prefer death rather than disgrace. He also drafted an admonition and a pledge which he published with an explanation in the Ezo tongue.²⁹ He is also

²⁷ *Dai Nihon Shi* 242, Foreign biographies Ezo. Jō (No. 1). In 699 the Empress Jitō send Buddhist furnishings to the Ezo Buddhist priest in Mutsu.

²⁸ Takakura, Shinichirō, Enku. Natarukuri no Zō (Idol of Enku Dasaku), Ezo Ōrai, No. 11.

²⁹ I am not familiar with the contents of the Gose no Shiori (Guide to the coming generation) written by Ranshū. However, the entire contents of the instructions to the Ezo can be found in Vol. 2 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. Owing to its complexity, it will not be quoted here.

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reported to have once gathered five hundred natives for a Buddhist ceremony and had them say prayers a million times using a large rosary. Another priest, Benzui the Third, composed a song "Kobikiuta" which he translated into Ezo and he was frequently seen walking around his district accepting offerings of rice while he, in turn, gave aid to the sick and the lonely and urged the people to accept the gospel of the Buddha. Whenever he obtained followers he would teach them the song he had composed and he would dance to the tinkle of his bell. He preached in a simple manner and taught the natives to read and write Kana. The Ezo respected him and called him the Prayer God.⁴⁹ There are further examples such as the Kokutaiji priest who translated the Five Commandments of Buddhism into

⁴⁹ Sapporo Kushi states that Nembutsu Shonin—translated the *Kobiki Uta* of Ranshū into the Ezo tongue. Although the translation differed somewhat this song was taught by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi and it is given below. (The "Gose no Shiori" of Ranshū is actually a *Kobiki Uta* and the entire thing can be found in the *Hokkai Kaikyō Kikyō*. Essential materials on the opening and civilizing of the North Sea region.)

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Nembutsu Shonin

Kobiki Uta

Namuamidabutsu

Ezochijin usuyama zenkoji sandai zendaihonganji benzui shonin

Nembutsu shohan

Hear all ye people. Listen to what I have to say

(Tapan Utare Epakashimuko Taka)

Sooner or later all men must die once

(Tonashikamoreika Arishimu Yuiraina)

If you are afraid to die say your prayers

(Raikohan chiki Nenfuchimukiiyare)

For who says his prayers will someday

(Kikaru Neyakina Senbarayatsuka)

although his body may cease to live

(Kanseneto Hake Raiwa Ne Yatsuka)

Like a cicada discarding his cast

(Yosaki Shi Seihore Osiyora Mukokachi)

He will go to the land of the moon and the sun

(Chiyuju Afure Ha)

and the land without death

(Shomorai Kodanta)

to be reborn there

and live as he pleases

(Omansekutoha Yacramu Ainine)

If your wife and children are dear to you

(Emachiho Otare Enu Kashiketa Neteki)

Have them say the prayers together with you

(Utoranen Fuchi Kuchiki Hiraka)

For then, you will meet no difficulties in this world

(Tahan Mushirikata Shomoyaihomashu)

and in the world to come you will find yourself in heaven

(Mushiri Etsuhako Achiran Setokote)

where Japanese and Ezo, the noble and the common

(Samo Mo Ainu Mo Utare Mo Tono Mo)

will live together on the same leaf of the lotus

(Shinefu Ike Kashiketa Anna)

to enjoy life without end

(Chihore Funu Hetsune Shomaorai Ruhane)

Henceforth let all say the prayers of Namuamidabutsu

(Namuashitaki) and Amida butsu (Kamoi Ratsuta) for

they shall be blessed. Blessed are they who say Ami-

dabutsu Namuamidabutsu Namuamidabutsu Shoshibutsuhiko.

Hiqashi Ezo Nikki 21.

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Ezo as a guide for the propagation of his faith⁴¹ and the priest Wanan of Tōjuin temple who is said to have "influenced many natives to become his followers."⁴² The work of these men had a lasting effect. In Vol. 3 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* written by Matsuura Takeshirō it is noted that the Ezo living in the Abuta and Usa areas were Buddhists and knew the words of the Buddhist prayers. In the *Tōkai Yama* [East Ezo Evening Tales] written by Ōuchi Yoan there is the story that an Ezo called Shakeroku of Akkeshi, whose father having been unexpectedly killed by a bear, "held a funeral service with the head priest of Kokutaiji temple at Keiunzan presiding over the ceremony." The same book also notes that when the Ainu of Akkeshi visited Kokutaiji temple and knelt before the altar, they worshipped in Ainu style and chanted prayers in their own language saying, *Idetsuki, Obitsuta, Uenguro Obitsuta Pirikakiudonshikama* which meant: "Acts of evil shall not be done. Good deeds shall be done."⁴³ Nevertheless, the work of these priests cannot be compared with the role of the religious in the colonial history of other countries for, while those policies were the joint efforts of government and missionary, the colonial activity of Japan was directed to restricting the activities of Buddhist priests rather than aiding them, and as a consequence the missionary activities of Buddhist priests were strictly personal activities devoid of government aid. We must also remember that in those days Buddhism was unworldly and introspective and the priesthood was degenerate, for, although there were those who carried out their mission, there were those who completely neglected their work. Onōdera Hōkoku gives us some examples:

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the three temples of Ezo . . . are said to have been established during the Bakufu administration for the purpose of enlightening the natives and also to prevent perverse religion from spreading among the Ezo. How can one expect present-day priests to have such lofty ideals? Their misbehavior, abusing the name of the Bakufu, has been a constant source of worry to the Matsumae. The reason for this is that the term of service for priests delegated to this island is ten years during which period the clan and the *Unjōya* defray all expenses. It is said that there are some priests who think of nothing but asking for everything they want and that a head priest can earn about a thousand ryō in ten years after which he returns to the mainland and an easy life in some temple. When I visited Hakodate in 1853, a replacement for the head priest of Kokutaiji temple was also there. He had been there

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⁴¹ (1) *Iteki Raige* (Killing is prohibited). (2) *Iteki Iruku* (Theft is prohibited). (3) *Iteki Omoinu* (Adultery is prohibited). (4) *Iteki Suyunge* (Rumor mongering is prohibited). (5) *Iteki Tonoto Iku* (Drinking is prohibited). *Tanashikine Ikuuruku Pirikano Kentomo Otruta Shitsukarumaru Nehisa Eharupa Yatsuka Yaitobarewa Tonashino Hoshipiniha* (The above five instructions are to be strictly observed and wherever you may go you are to take care of yourself and it is desired that you return as soon as possible). *Kusuri Nikki* and *Sapporo Kushi*, 234.

⁴² *Hokkaido Shi*, 15.⁴³ *Kokutai* No. 1.

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for forty days and the behavior of the priests accompanying him was unmentionable. One day the priests went to a restaurant called Yatsugashira and held a wild party calling in many entertainers. The person acting as a guard for the priests was too dumbfounded to interfere and when the bill, which amounted to a considerable sum, was brought, he showed it to the priests. The priests then flew into a rage saying that that was no way to treat them and threatening to go to the chief civil authority about the matter. Then Shiratori Shinjiro, a man of experience, who had been there since the days of the Bakufu administration appeared on the scene and told them there was no reason why they should not pay the bill since it affected the virtue of their holy position. The priests had nothing more to say. On the day of their departure when a lunch was served them at Nanaehama, one of the priests, complaining that the rice was cold, returned to Hakodate, demanded gold and is said to have then spent the night at a restaurant.⁴⁴

Against this tale, however, must be balanced such tales of successful mission work as are found in *Ezo Kōran* [Perspective of Ezo] which is concerned with the activities of the Zenkōji temple—the most successful of the three temples.⁴⁵

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We may conclude then that the effect, if any, of Buddhist missionary work, was limited to a small area and that it was superficial with slight spiritual impact on the life of the Ezo. Aside from Buddhist temples, the Bakufu also set up a number of shrines in order to control native religious life. Various gods were enshrined near the *Unjōya* during the pre-Bakufu period and some of these gods were harmonized with the ways of the Ezo. When the Bakufu took over, Hachiman [the War God] was enshrined at each *Kaishō*.⁴⁶ It is especially interesting to note that Kondō Juzo established a shrine for Yoshitsune. Kondō may have believed the legend that Minamoto Yoshitsune crossed to Ezo and was later worshipped by the natives.⁴⁷ He

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⁴⁴ Onōdera Ken, *Ezo Kikan* [Wonders of Ezo] Suppl. Vol.

⁴⁵ "A priest of high virtue was recently selected, upon order from the Bakufu, from among the priests of the Shibazōjōji temple, to become the head of the Zenkōji temple at Usu. Upon arrival in Ezo, this priest worked diligently in an effort to teach Buddhist prayers to the natives. However, none of the Ezo obliged because they could not understand these prayers. The priest, therefore, taking advantage of the fact that the Ezo were fond of sake, distilled unrefined sake and informed the natives that anyone saying the prayers would be given a free treat. Thus the natives, wishing to drink sake, began to say their prayers. In later years it became understood among the Ezo that to go to the temple for prayers was tantamount to going for a free drink and the temple was crowded to its capacity with natives, who, for the sake of the treat, were chanting prayers."

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⁴⁶ "It is expected that one Hachiman shrine will be established at each *Baiko* supported by the Bakufu." Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni... in *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 559.

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⁴⁷ The legend that Minamoto no Yoshitsune did not meet his death at Koromogawa but managed to escape to Ezo where he was held in great honor is invariably found in any publication pertaining to Ezo such as *Ezo Ki*, *Hokkai Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Kiji*, *Ezo Shi*, etc., and by the time of the first period of direct administration by the Bakufu, it had become an unquestionable legend. Kondō Juzo believed in this legend as

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did enshrine Yoshitsune at Saru which was alleged to have been the capital of the Ezo and the success he achieved is unknown since the Ezo were animists and not idolators but his intention is understandable. Kondō also set up shrines at Kunashiri, Akkeshi, and other places, and taught the natives to worship at them."

6. LAW

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Another noteworthy matter of policy was the enactment of simple laws in Ezo. The Matsumae had regarded the Ezo as aliens yet to be assimilated and consequently all internal affairs of the natives were left to the natives to settle except incidents involving Japanese. When the Bakufu took the view that the Ezo were part of Japan, it became necessary to enact some kind of law in the island. Since the Ezo were not accustomed to Japanese ways, it was considered unfair as well as a hindrance to government to enforce the laws and penalties of the mainland. Therefore, Hayashi of the Education Ministry, acting on the three articles of the pledge of the Founder of the Han Dynasty made to the leaders of Shensi, drafted three articles for enactment into law in Ezo.

1. Heavy penalties will be imposed on persons believing in perverted religions and persons becoming friendly with foreigners.

2. The death penalty will be imposed on those who commit murder.

3. Persons who do injury to others or who commit theft shall be punished according to the seriousness of the crime.

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According to Hayashi's explanations of the draft, light crimes were to be punished by a maximum sentence of three to five years at hard labor on the roads with the culprit to be shaven bald, while the penalty for misdemeanors was to be left in the hands of the administrative courts." In addition to the above three clauses

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can be seen from a letter he wrote to Furukawa Koshōken in June 1799:

"Millet is called *monjiro* and barnyard grass is called *biyaba*. It is said that when Minamoto no Yoshitsune came to this land years ago, he taught the natives how to plant them. At Saru and Mukawa the natives have set up wreaths at places where Yoshitsune is said to have resided." *Kondō Seisui Zenshu* 1: 22. The *Kimura Shikyō* . . . also states that this legend was believed without doubt.

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"It is noted in the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . that on July 23 Kondō Juzo and his party set up a small shelter at Atoiya in Kunashiri and erected in its vicinity a Hangan shrine [a shrine to Minamoto Yoshitsune] and instructed the natives as follows: "A Hangan shrine has been established here and it is requested that the shrine be worshipped."

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On October 10 the natives, on the occasion of the enthronement of a god at Akkeshi received the following instructions: "To worship this god is to worship the god of Edo and it is as holy a god as the god of the sun and the moon. This god bestows good luck on the virtuous and bad luck on the evil: is pleased by those who work hard but despises those who are lazy. This god protects Ezo and its surrounding sea so it is desired that this god be worshipped at all times without fail" [also given in Ainu].

"If too many strict laws are enacted in an uncivilized land, it is true that these laws will act as obstacles in ruling the

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the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.³⁰ It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

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Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was ~~dictatorial to the Ezo.~~

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natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568-569.

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³⁰ Refer to Etorofu *Omusha moshawatashi no koto* (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

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distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.⁵¹ The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.⁵² This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.⁵³

7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

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The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat⁵⁴ while the traditions of *Mekhakiri*⁵⁵ and the bear festival were prohibited.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Mogami Tokumai, Akkeshi Ran moshigae (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

⁵² Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazume no omomuki sani kotae moshigae sôrô (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kôki*, Suppl. 6, SHS 5: 786-787.

⁵³ Takakura Shinichirô, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hôritsu Shunju* 5 (4).

⁵⁴ Ezoichi Goyoshui shikaimuki môshiwasari sôrô.

⁵⁵ According to *Hokkaidô Shi* 1: 475, *Mekhakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

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* 648 On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the
177 natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation
* 175 of earrings was banned⁵⁷ while every encouragement
was given to the importation of Japanese commodities.
The government awarded Japanese clothing to those
who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy
was to select a model native, from the Japanese point
of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might
desire to follow his example. The magistrates also
made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when
the rotation period for officials came so that the natives
might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model
way of life. This policy was discontinued because of
opposition from officials in Edo.⁵⁸ The island of

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[165] meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no
[114] research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this
word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zuesetsu* (written by
Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō)
gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin
to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Aimu Keibatsu [Aimu
penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3)). In my opinion, those
cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called
Shutouchi or *Tsuchinchi* and cases where the back of a sword
were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of
these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mek-
kauchi* or *Mibkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most
barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit
the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would
draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once
the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The
visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the
same manner be themselves struck three times which would
cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo
Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsō
Ruijū* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mek-
kauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of
Ukaru, also often used as a punishment, was also banned.
Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the In-
spectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke
it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be
seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this
practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing
can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once
been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* re-
mains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a
discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).⁵⁹

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[196] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who
[224] were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for
abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hana-
shi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) How-
ever, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial
aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death,
proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was im-
possible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned,
the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

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[301] ⁵⁷ "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of
the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and
the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese.
The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyūmei
Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

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[484] ⁵⁸ "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have
[522] accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish
to do so in order that they may see for themselves the
prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their ex-
periences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of
help in altering their customs. The reason for including

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Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,⁹⁰ dress their hair à la Japanese, and change their names.⁹¹ Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaisoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.⁹² According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

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women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tattoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, SHS 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

⁹⁰ "The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetruko* [Beard mound]."

⁹¹ For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kazukai* Nuntorushi was renamed Higesuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

⁹² The following is found in Abe Masami, *Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku* (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan
Tohei

Conversion Tag

Previous name

Toiken

Born at Pimpepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

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simulation policy of the Bakufu extended to a physical union of the two races.

When Bakufu officials were first dispatched to Etorofu Island, the Lord Shinshū (Matsudaira Shinano) was secretly instructed to arrange marriages between Ezo women and Japanese guards who were to serve long periods on the island. I have found during my visit to the island this year (1804) that one of the guards, as of last year, was the father of eight children, of whom five were in good health. Unfortunately three of them died. . . .

It is also reported that similar attempts at union were made on Kunashiri Island.⁸²

However, the daily customs and traditions of a race are deeply rooted in the life of a people since they have been formed over many years through the character of a race and its environment. Therefore, to legislate change or to expect quick results from such legislation is extremely difficult. If this difficulty be disregarded and the changes enforced, the result, as history shows, will be rebellion. The Bakufu realized this and instructed their officials to change things in a gradual manner. Instructions read:

The people should be encouraged to change their customs. However, patience must be exercised in making the people change to Japanese ways; otherwise, their sentiments will be aroused against us thus making the achievement of our aims impossible. We must wait until that time when the people themselves desire the change. This is especially true in changing the customs of the women.

Further instructions on the abolition of undesirable habits read: "Although it is our desire that evil practices be done away with simultaneously through the land, a hasty order will have ill effects on the feelings of the

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⁸² "Since the year before last we have been teaching the Ezo to follow the customs of Japan. As a result, the Ezo have done away with tattooing, *Mekkauchi*, *Tsuchiuchi*, and other customs and practices. There are even a considerable number who have acquired some Japanese, especially children among whom are many who have learned the Japanese syllabary. However, there are as yet none who have shaved their heads except for a few employed by the agency. However, prior to the Bakufu administration, agency employees shaved their heads only during their period of employment after which they returned to their old ways. In reference to these matters we are observing your instructions and are not persuading the natives to alter their ways. Those who have direct contact with the Ezo have been carefully briefed to that effect and your generous consideration is being constantly relayed through interpreters to the natives who show great satisfaction. We have also been teaching these people that their conduct must be consistent with their belief. They are gradually showing some response to this for last year a group of *Otona* expressed appreciation for what had been taught them and stated that all the children on the island would be brought up to follow Japanese manners. At that time we merely stated our approval of the matter but true enough, ever since the Bakufu took over, not one of the babies born since shows the marks of earrings or tattoos. If this situation prevails, we believe it will not be long before the natives will have made the change of their own accord." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 7, Kunashiritō ittai no gi moshiaige sōrō kakisutake (Report on the general situation on Kunashiri Island), *SHS* 5: 802-803

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people" and "Thus the task cannot be carried out immediately but the intention should always be borne in mind."⁴³ Thus Bakufu policy was to go no further than to induce the natives themselves to desire a change.

Great success was had in some areas. In the *Matsumae Kikō* [Journey through Matsumae], written in 1808, it is said that in the area between Ootshibe and Nodaai "there were many men and women who suddenly took to Japanese ways." On the other hand, there were areas where over-enthusiastic officials prohibited *Mekhakiri* and the bear festival and enforced changes and thus created ill feeling and criticism among the Ezo. This was particularly true in those areas which had had little contact with Japanese. Since some of the Ezo chiefs of that day had both power and sense, they refused to follow the instructions of Bakufu officials.⁴⁴ When Matsudaira Tadaaki passed through Biro *Basho* (later called Tokachi *Basho*), he issued orders for the Ezo to bow and kneel instead of rubbing together their palms because he disliked the latter gesture.⁴⁵ It was reported that the Ezo replied that, while it was easy for them to alter their etiquette, they felt uneasy about a future under officials who could not appreciate their customs and, no matter how the interpreters tried to solace the natives, their suspicions could not be quieted.⁴⁶ Mogami Tokunai who realized the difficulty inherent in this policy and who opposed the changes stated in his *Ezo Sōshi*, Vol. 2:

It is stated in the chapter on Royal Administration in the Book of Rites that, where people differ in their laws, tools, clothes, and moral standards, it is best they be educated and their government improved but their customs and moral standards be left unchanged. This should be borne in mind in governing Ezo.

Baba Masamichi mentions this matter in his *Chōya-yoron* [Long Nights Conversations] wherein he ridicules the ignorance of those Bakufu officials who urged the natives to live on cereals instead of meat and to use cotton instead of warm furs. He states:

It was difficult for even the saints to change an established custom so, for ordinary men, this task is impossible. It is best that the natives be left alone and that we wait for them to become loyal subjects. However, this does not necessarily mean that those natives who are yet to be

⁴³ Ezo goyogakari.

⁴⁴ "Natives of other *Basho* have come to appreciate and have respect for Bakufu administration and a number of them have gradually changed their way of life to follow the pattern of Japan. However, those Ezo living within the territory of Chief Ikotoi of Akkeshi are quite determined not to change their customs and there is not one native there who follows Japanese ways" Yamazaki Hanzō, *Higashi Ezochi Kikō*.

⁴⁵ The native's most courteous obeisance was accompanied by a clasping together of the hands as is stated in *Ainu Fuzoku Ryōkūki* [Brief sketch of Ainu customs]: "In expressing their courtesy to the Japanese, they would kneel down, clasp their hands together and recite. . . ." For further details refer to Batchelor's *The Ainu and their legends*, 79 ff.

⁴⁶ See Ezojin ni heifuku seishimuru koto (Enforced obeisance of the Ezo), *EFI* 2 (7) and in *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

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taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.⁶⁷

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"⁶⁸ and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."⁶⁹ There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.⁷⁰

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.⁷¹ Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.⁷²

⁶⁷ Uchida Ginzō, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

⁷⁰ "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroi where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo, customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chōwajoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will, probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shōshi* 3.

⁷¹ *Ayume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fōzoku Kaiko gi ni tsuki moshiaige sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro Basho).

⁷² Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

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It is obvious that no satisfactory results came from this shifting policy. Even the situation on Etorofu Island, which was the showcase of native policy, was not good as can be seen from the entry for June 16, 1808, in Ezo Nikki;

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The Ezo used as the guide was not called Ezo but Aino since the Ezo thought it humiliating to be called by the former name. *Recently the natives have been pleased when they are called village people (murakata) although they are not aware of the meaning.* Furthermore, there are approximately twenty natives on Etorofu who have shaved their beards, changed their clothes and, in appear-

previously known, it is not an easy task to develop the island or to influence the natives to change their fashion in costumes or in other ways. And yet there seems to have been a tendency for those in charge of various *Basho* to win credit for themselves. Now, although it is the policy to have the Ezo themselves volunteer to change their customs, there is nothing further from Bakufu policy than to have them induced to so volunteer. We therefore instruct you to observe the following:

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1. In regard to farming—it is permissible for those going to Ezo from Japan to cultivate a suitable area within the *Basho* where they reside. However, cultivation of land outside the *Basho* is to be undertaken only after approval from higher authority. The Ezo shall not be encouraged to farm.

2. Those who go to Ezo from Japan shall not engage in fishing in any manner which interferes with the livelihood of the natives.

3. Needless to say, the customs of the Ezo are not to be interfered with for the time being. Efforts will be made, however, to maintain those industries already fostered among the Ezo. Instructions may already have been given by those in charge of Etorofu and Kunashiri but the following policy is applicable not only to those two islands but to all Ezo. That is, even in cases where the Ezo themselves request permission to change their ways, this request will not be granted on the spot but referred for approval to higher authority. Now on Etorofu a number of Ezo requested this change during the past year and these requests were granted. Therefore, it is feared that, if for this island a policy of passing these requests along for the approval of higher authority is adopted, suspicion may be aroused among the natives. Since Etorofu is of first importance and since the feelings of the people there ought not to be neglected, it is permitted there to accept the requests of the more sincere natives. Upon arrival at your post and after looking over the situation, this matter will be taken up again for discussion.

4. Since such work as erection of houses, building of ships, etc., is practically completed, you will refrain from undertaking any new construction and you will limit yourself to repair and maintenance. Furthermore, care will be exercised in purchasing goods outside your *Basho* in order to conserve your budget. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of the Bakufu to decrease relief work among the Ezo or to cut down on the allowances of managers and others. Therefore, give due consideration to public opinion that it may not be aroused against the Bakufu.

5. Take care to do nothing which will have any ill effect on the interests of Bakufu and do not carry our new ideas in a careless manner.

The above instructions will be conveyed to officials at each *Basho*. Since a Magistracy is to be established for the first time all officials will observe these instructions until that office starts functioning and all will be careful to observe traditions and govern with consideration having in mind that this will be a long-term administration.

March of the Year Inu

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ance, become Japanese. Assumed ages were given them, as well as names and they were, *although illiterate*, raised to the position of *Otona*. Natives of other islands call these people new *Shamo* which, in the Ezo tongue, means Japanese.⁷³

In Yamazaki Hanzō's *Higashi Ezo Kikō* we read:

The Ezo women (mostly mistresses of the guards) through the intervention of Kodama Kanai, tie their hair in Katsuyama fashion, were attired in beautiful costumes and in no way appeared like country women from out back. However, their tattooed faces made a shocking contrast to the way in which they were dressed.

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So, although the natives preferred to be called Ainu instead of Ezo and enjoyed being termed "*murakata*," they had no idea of what these words meant. They changed their appearance but were nothing more than illiterate new *Shamo* and the women, although they dressed their hair in the Japanese style, could not obliterate the tattoos on their faces and hands. So once their hair was untied or the shaven head had again grown hair, they were back where they had started. Therefore, when the policy of induced change was abandoned after the Russian invasion of 1808, the Ezo immediately went back to their old life. According to the *Ansei Sannan Rokugatsu Etorofu Basho Hikiwatashi Shorui* [Documents Relative to the Transfer of Authority in Ezo Basho in June, 1856], there was only one woman who still retained the Japanese customs and she was an old woman who otherwise could not have obtained any government subsidy for her livelihood.

8. SUMMARY

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With the assumption of direct administration in 1799, the policy of the Government toward the Hokkaidō Ainu became an important issue and, as a result of discussions, various policies were attempted. As order rapidly spread throughout Ezo accompanied by a well-managed administrative structure, an edifice of government became evident. While much of the new structure was the result of unifying and further developing the older systems, a new look was apparent. Ezo-land was divided into a number of administrative districts with an appointed *Sō Otona* supervising the other Ezo. The instructions of the Bakufu were passed on to the natives through the *Sō Otona* while those matters with which the Bakufu was not concerned were left for the natives themselves to settle. However, the Ezo were not left complete responsibility to settle such matters, for a basic law was enacted which was administered by officials with broad authority, so that in the governmental relationships of Ezo the natives played a subordinate part. The cultural policy undertaken before this period was a negative one, of preventing, as far as possible, assimilation and therefore the use of Japanese dress and language, and the practice of farming was discouraged. But 1799 marks the beginning of an official policy of assimilation. Instruction was given

⁷³ Italics by Takakura.

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in the Japanese language and the natives were educated with the aim of "eventually turning them into Japanese" while farming methods were taught in order "to accustom them to the ways of the Japanese." Humane ways were preached and schooling given to "develop their culture gradually." To those natives who wished it, Japanese clothes were given, their heads were shaved, and permission was granted to follow the customs of Japan. Efforts were made to abolish such practices as polygamy. But this hasty policy of assimilation too often ignored the pride of the Ezo and, at least on the cultural side, it was dropped. This did not mean a return to a policy of non-assimilation but a more cautious and gradual carrying out of parts of the assimilation policy. The attitudes of the natives were respected. Trade was regularized and conducted in good faith in an effort to abolish the past evils of trade, while medical and other relief facilities were improved. These changes were inevitable because Ezo was changing from a commercial colony to an exploited area with a resultant need for government control, for the maintenance of native manpower and for convenient use of that labor power. The sudden adoption of this new policy was a result of the foreign situation developing around Hokkaido at the turn of the nineteenth century—a situation which resulted in the assumption of direct control by the central government of Japan. There was every fear that Russian expansion included this area and that a prime Russian tactic was appeasement of the natives. But from the economic standpoint, these measures went too far. While it was undoubtedly necessary to establish a new administrative structure the attempt to assimilate the natives into the Japanese way of life while at the same time expanding the market for Japanese merchandise, increased the difficulties of using the natives as a labor force. The intelligence level of the native population was raised. The encouragement of agriculture gave the Ezo the means to furnish for themselves certain important goods such as tobacco, sake, and clothing hitherto imported from Japan. The Ezo manpower devoted to agriculture deprived the Japanese of native manpower for use in newly established Japanese industries. Above all, since the profit was realized not in the Ezo trade but in the Japanese market for Ezo goods, there was no need to expand the native market for Japanese goods. Actually this assimilation policy was a policy of national defense and it was not based on sound economics. For this reason of defense the Bakufu was most careful not to enforce assimilation and it trod so carefully in this matter that in 1802 it instructed its agents to call off the policy of encouraging agriculture and of changing native custom. The general effect of the policy change plus the improved fairness in trade led to an increase in native labor power available to Japanese industry on the island but uneven enforcement of this later policy

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made it most difficult to raise the general living standards of the Ezo.

It was out of sheer necessity that the central government took over the administration of Ezo and because of serious financial difficulties it could not afford to carry out desirable administrative and fiscal-economic policies there. The original estimate of expenditures had been 50,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for official salaries, and 5,000 koku land rent to the Matsumae per annum. By 1802 it was necessary to economize on these sums and the Hakodate Magistracy had its budget reduced to 25,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for salaries, and 3,500 koku for the Matsumae. Of the total amount, about 20,000 ryō was realized from Bakufu income in Ezo and the Hakodate Magistracy, in an attempt to cover the remaining sum, thought to establish a self-sufficient economy by buying rice for the island from the clans, reselling it, and using the profit to cover the deficit. Until this got underway, however, Hakodate had to depend on government subsidy. However, the Fiscal Agency of the central government decided to cover only the 5,000 ryō deficit in administrative expenses and to place the sum needed for official salaries and the Matsumae subsidy on a separate budget. In effect the major portion of the expense of governing Ezo had to be met out of the income of Ezo which is the very reason why the Ezo policy of the Bakufu, no matter how ideal in intent, suffered under severe restrictions placed on it by economic factors. Therefore, when tensions with Russia lessened and when it seemed apparent after the Russian invasions of 1806-1807 that Russia's colonial policy was not necessarily based on peaceful means and consequently the importance of appeasing the natives was reduced, it was but natural that the government shift its policy from one of appeasement to one of making a profit. This transformation is reflected in the abolition of the direct trade in East Ezo and the gradual relaxation of administrative controls in favor of economic benefits. In the end all policies were cast out except those which conformed with the economic principles of the central government. Obviously the concomitant expansion of industry and the increasing importance of exploiting the economy of Ezo changed the native picture.

It is not my intention to write that the various policies of the Bakufu were ineffectual. Through the efforts of the Bakufu, a native policy was established. Japanese sovereignty in Ezo was confirmed and an administration of a fair degree of order was erected. The evils of the preceding period were ended while the installations of that period were continued with a view to protecting the natives. The beneficial efforts of the Bakufu took deeper hold in those remote areas of East Ezo-Kunashiri, Etorofu, etc., where the Bakufu had concentrated its efforts, than in Western and Northern Ezo where the Bakufu faced greater difficulties.

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114 I have used many materials which are not easily
113 available and to avoid undue complexity I omitted from
the text any detailed explanations of the manuscripts
which are cited. Therefore, this appendix is not only
a bibliographical guide but a supplementary commentary
on the text. I am concerned here only with manu-
scripts and rare books. Manuscripts of minor im-
portance which are in the library of the Hokkaidō
Administrative Office are not herein commented on and
my selection of rare books is, of course, a subjective
one. Basic guides to these materials are:

- 113 *Hokkaidō Chō Kyūki Mokuroku* (List of old records in the
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myself and published by that office in 1932.
*Kokusen Shinkō Hakurankai Hokkaidō Rekishi Kan Chinretsu-
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History Hall at the National Industry Encouragement Fair)
published in 1926.
Goryōkaku Nai Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Mokuroku (List
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Wherever the name of the owner of a manuscript or
book is not given then it is owned by the Hokkaidō
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KŌNŌ TSUREKICHI, ed. *Ainu Chōsen Zairyō* (Materials for
study of the Ainu). A collection of extracts from old records.
Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

MOGAMI TSURENORI, *Akkeshi Ran Moshinge* (Report on the
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December 1799 when Tashanishi, chief of Kushiro, killed a
houseboy. Also contains supplementary materials on the
chief Ikotoi of Kunashiri who secretly contacted the Russians
and on the assassination of Tashanishi.

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to the Osara River, thence to the Tokachi River, then to
Otsu and finally to Sapporo by way of the Urakawa coast.
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of this trip Matsumoto resigned his post and never returned
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tractor for the Usu Basko, on the condition of each of the
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wonders of Ezo). Onōdera had, by order of the head of
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written of this journey in *Hokuyō Nisēn*. *Ezo Kikan
Furoku* treats of the natural products, the people, and the
history of Ezo and Karafuto. It contains, in detail, the
routes from Matsumae to East Ezo and North Ezo and from

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Sōya in West Ezo to Shari. Tokuken's ordinary name was Kenji and his pen name was Okoku. He was instructor at the Sendai clan school.

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Ezo Koku Shiki (Private records of the Ezo). On economic conditions, products, and the native customs by one who had once cut timber in the remote Ishikari mountains. Probably done in the latter eighteenth century. It also is known as *Ezo Koku Yama*.

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- Orei Esojin Tetsuzuki Shirabe Sho* (Documents on procedures for receiving gifts from the Ezo). Documents on the Niikappu *Basho* relative to the transfer of 1822. Included in the *Ezo Zassho*.
- Kakei Ukeoi Chumainai Bannin Kokoroe Sho* (Takada Kakei's instructions to his guards during the period of his contract). Materials on the Shibetoro *Basho* in Etorofu.
- Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* (A record of personal experiences in Kamikawa). Written by Hiroka Takamasa, assistant to the Kaitakushi, as a record of what he heard and saw during his inspection of the boundaries of Kamikawa, Sorachi, and Kabuto.
- Kōnō TSUNEKICHI, ed. *Kyōdojin Chōsa Shorui* (Miscellaneous investigations concerning the aborigines). A collection taken from magazine and newspaper articles. Now owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.
- HABUTO MASAYASU, *Kyumei Kōki* (The veritable record). Habuto was appointed Commissioner in Ezo in 1790, Commissioner at Matsumae in 1802, and he resigned his positions in 1807. The nine volumes of this work contain all the events that occurred during his tenures from the assumption of direct control in 1799 to his resignation. The eleven-volume appendix consists mostly of official documents he handled during his tenures. This material was published in *Zokuzoku Gunsho Ruijū*, Part IV, but many errors were made in the transcription and, when *SHS* was published, the fifth volume was devoted to a correct text of this work.
- RINSŌ MAMIYA, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (An illustrated description of Northern Ezo). Place names, topography, products, the natives of Karafuto, clothing, homes, food, tools, customs, religion, etc., all are described as well as the customs of the Oroko and Sumarenkuru. Rinsō was born in Hitachi, served the Bakufu from 1805 onward, explored Ezo, supplemented Ino Tadataka's maps of Ezo, explored Karafuto in 1808 in company with Matsuda Denjirō at the order of the Bakufu. He submitted reports of this latter trip, returned to Karafuto in 1809 and finally reached Manchuria. *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* is the record of this last trip. It has alternative names—*Dōchū Yoroku*, *Hokui Bunkai*, *Hokui Kikō*, *Kita Ezo Chibu*. It was published in 1855 in four volumes by Harimaya of Edo and, without the illustrations, is part of the appendix on Hokkaidō of *Nihon Meishō Chishi*.
- Kita Ezochi Hontan Nukigaki* (A brief summary of the origins of the Northern Ezo area). A report about members of the Matsumae clan and their experiences on Karafuto. Written by the clan at the request of the Bakufu official Murata Tetsutarō in March 1800.
- Kimura Shikyō Hikki* (Diary of Kimura Shikyō). Kimura of Hitachi wrote this diary of a round trip to Ezo between April 3, 1798, and February 3, 1799. The trip was made under the alias of Shimono Gensuke and in company with Kōdō Morishige. He had been to Matsumae previously in 1793 along with Takeishi Minzō at the order of Tachibara Suiken of Mito and on this earlier trip had written *Hokō Hiroku*.
- Ansei Nansen Gyogyō Yatoi Kyūryō Sonota* (Wages of fishing employees and other matters in 1857). A collection on the wages of fishermen and the price of commodities in 1857, on the fish catch in Sōya *Basho* in 1857–1858 and on other matters. Owned by the Hakodate Prefectural Office.
- Gyōha Kankai Shorui* (Materials on the fish markets). The files of the contractor Satō Izanaemon of Utatsutsu and Isoya.

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Detailed records of the procedures that resulted in the abolition of the contract system in 1869-1870.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRO, *Kinsai Ezo Jinbutsushi* (Materials on the contemporary natives). 9 books. Personalities and peculiarities of Ezo which the author collected on his trips to every part of the island. The manuscript lay long unnoticed and was finally published in *Sekai*, Nos. 98-110.

Kusuri Basho Toriatukai Kakinuki (Notes on the management of the Kusuri Basho). A selection from the records of the pre-Bakufu direct control period. It treats of the annual calendar, purchasing and selling, management experiences, the treatment of officials, wage scales, gratuities to employees, etc., of the Kusuri Basho.

Kusuri Basho Hikiwatashi Ikken Kaki Mono Utsurahi (Materials on the transfer of Kusuri Basho). The investigation reports and the files, relevant to the transfer of this Basho in 1822.

Kunashiri Basho Kakiage (Documents on Kunashiri Basho). The regulations, progress made and the contemporary situation in this Basho. Drawn up in September 1868 when it was transferred.

SEKIFUJI FUJIKAGE, *Kankokuroku* (Record of an inspection trip). 4 books. Materials embodying the results of an investigation into the topography, customs, people, boundaries, soil, and products of Karafuto. Sekifuji made the trip in 1856-1857 at the order of Abe, Lord of Ise, head of the Fukuyama clan and Councillor to the Bakufu. Included is the diary kept on this trip by Sekifuji who was also known as an eminent disciple of Rai Sanyō.

NIIDA MAGOSABURŌ, *Kansen Ezo Ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Diary of the investigation into the Ezo rebellion of 1789). 3 books. Niida was a Matsumae clan official who was commander in charge of quelling the outbreaks at Kunashiri and Menashi in 1789. As a consequence this is a first-class source for this event.

KUBOTA SHIZŌ, *Kyōwa Shichi* (A personal and official diary of the year 1844). 5 books. The diary of Shizō who traveled from Shikotsu to Sōya and from there to Matsumae, via Shibetsu and the east coast, in 1856, at the order of the Councillor Hotta Masataku, head of the Sakura clan. An interesting record.

Tempo Jugonen Kōshiyō Tomo Kakikomi Nikki. The diary of a Matsumae clan official, Okahira Katsuma, kept from the time he left Matsumae throughout his period of duty at Sōya in 1844. Owned by the library of Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Goryō Ansei Roku Hitsujitoshi Nenchū Shokado Gōmokuroku. A collection of reports and files from Nukappu Basho, offered to Takeuchi, Lord of Shimano and Governor of Hakodate, when he visited there on an inspection trip in 1859.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRO, *Saikō Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of a second trip to Ezo). On this trip Matsuura went to Karafuto as servant to Nishikawa Shuran, medical doctor of the Matsumae clan on Karafuto, in 1846. The diary is now the property of Kōnō Hiromichi. From the time he was sixteen onward Matsuura traveled constantly. Beginning in 1845, he made three trips to Ezo areas. Later he was chosen by the Bakufu to do geographic investigation in Ezo and during this commission completed *Ezochi Sansen Chiri Torishirabe Zu*. He produced other works on Ezo and was known as the greatest Ezo expert of his time. In the Meiji era he was appointed to the Kaitakushi and was responsible for selecting the official modern names for the subdivisions of Hokkaidō.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRO, *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of a third trip to Ezo). This trip was taken in 1849 to Kunashiri and Etorofu.

Sansai Shitea (An appeal in the name of salvation). The author, Kuwada Wa, had been engaged in vaccination work in Ezo in an effort to save children, cows, and horses. Deeply sympathetic with the poverty of the Ezo and the need for

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educating them, he published this as an appeal to the public in the spring of 1858. Owned by the Hakodate Library.

TAKATSU YASUSHI, *Shūhokuroku* (A story of the extreme north). In 1808 the Aizu clan had military duty at Sōya, Rishiri, Karafuto, and Matsumae by order of the Bakufu. This is the diary of Takatsu, chief of staff of these guard troops. The diary came to light in 1844 and was published by Takatsu's pupil Takahashi Muneaki. Takahashi later accompanied the Bakufu scholar Kōga Kiyori to Tsushima to accept the Korean envoys and write the *Taishō Nikki* as a result.

Shotoku Genen Matsumae Shimanokami Sashidashi Sōrō Kakitsuke. This is a report submitted by Norihiro, Lord of Matsumae, to the assistant administrator of the Bakufu in 1715. It is also known as *Ezo Shima Monogatari* and *Ezochi Fūzoku*.

Shiragi no Kiroku (Archives of Shinra). A genealogy of the Matsumae family, edited by Saitō Naomasa. Collected by Matsumae Kagehiro in 1643 and presented to the Bakufu. Published by the Hakodate Library.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRŌ, *Jinshin Yoseki*. A collection of materials on regulations, suggestions, advices, and applications relative to the development of Ezo, gathered by the compiler. Published as a series in *Sekui* beginning with No. 104.

Suru Damiyōjin Eshi. 3 books. Scrolls dedicated to the Suwa shrine in 1388 by Kōzaka Enchū, secretary to Ashikaga Takauji. They contain a full account of the rebellion of the Andō family in 1324 and also have materials on the Hokkaidō Ainu. Though brief, they are an excellent source for Ezo at the end of the Kamakura period.

HONDA TOSHIAKI, *Sekijin Nihonkoku e Hyōchaku ni Nazorae Kinnen Shigesige Toraj Suru ni Ihi Aru Koto* (On the frequent visits of Russians to Japan in recent times under the guise of being castaways). The author points out that these visits under the pretense of distress were for purposes of trade. He discusses the threat posed by Russia and urges the opening of trade and the development of the Ezo area. He repeatedly emphasizes the profit to be gained by the cultivation of the Ezo. Dated May 1791.

Sezoichi Gyōgai no gi ni Tsuki Kokoroe Sōrō Omomuki Moshige Sōrō Kakitsuke (A report on the importance of the Ezo area as a frontier). A report by Kondō Morishige that resulted from his exploration of Western Ezo in 1807 under the direction of the Bakufu. The entire report is contained in Murao Motonaga, *Kondō Morishige Jiseki Kō* in *Kondō Seisai Zenshu*.

Ansei Hinotatsudoshi Sōya e Sashitatejō Todome (Dispatches and documents on the Sōya area, 1856).

Sōya Shihainin Otasaune ni tsuki Osorenagara Moshige Tatematsuri Sōrō. A report by the manager of Sōya in response to a Bakufu request for information on the Sōya Basho in January 1856.

Ansei Ninen Sōya Basho Ohikitsugi Mokuroku. An inventory of the Sōya Basho tendered by the Matsumae to the Bakufu when the latter took over the Basho in 1855. Describes the Sōya Basho in detail. Owned by Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

Ansei Santatsudoshi Sōya Yori no Raijō Todome. Documents transferred from the Sōya office to the Mombetsu office in 1856. Owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative office.

KONDŌ MORISHIGE, *Zoku Ezo Sōshi* (Sequel to the *Ezo Sōshi*). 4 books. This is, in a sense, a sequel to the *Ezo Sōshi* of Mogami Tokunai. Kondō wrote these volumes on the geography of Ezo, the Kuriles, and Russia with references to the Santan and Manchuria. The work is dedicated to the Bakufu and the preface is dated August 1804. The contents are almost the same as Kondō's *Henryō Bunkai Zukō*.

Ansei Sanyōnen Tōbanyō Moshitate Sho (Guard post materials for 1856-1857). Mombetsu documents for the period 1856-1857. Owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

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HIRAZAWA MICHITSUGU, *Taka no Ho Kaze* (The wing of a hawk). Under the orders of Abe Masatsune, head of the Fukuyama clan, Hirazawa managed the Shiranuka, Akan, and Ashiyoro areas of Kushiro in 1870. This is excellent material on the contemporary situation. Published in 1920.

KÖNÖ TSUNEKICHI, ed. *Takabatake Toshinobu Shi Banwa* (The personal story of Takabatake Toshinobu). Oral narrative of Takabatake Toshinobu who was appointed in September 1870 as officer in charge of developing the Sorachi and Kamikawa regions. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

OHARA SAKINGO, *Chihoku Gudan* (The northern allegory). 3 books. In 1795 Ohara was invited by the Matsumae to come to Fukuyama. He left there in 1796 with the suspicion, reported in this book, that Michihiro was secretly contracting with the Russians. He reported this to the Bakufu. Ohara was born in Sendai and became an excellent painter. He is also the author of *Hokuchi Kigen* which discusses the possibility of foreign aggression against Ezo.

Tsugaru Ittoshi (History of the unification of Tsugaru). 13 books. A collection of important documents of the Tsugaru clan dating from 1655 to 1780(?). It has good material on Hokkaidō including the *Matsumae Usudake Yoharukoto*, *Matsumae Ezo Hōki* and others. It contains the reports of Maki Tadaemon and Akimoto Rokuzaemon who investigated the rebellion of 1669. It was edited by Aisaka Noritake and Itō Sukenori, officials of the Matsumae clan, in 1731.

Tsugaru Kibun (Anecdotes of Tsugaru). 2 books. The first volume treats of the customs and the names of the villages of Ezo and of the language of Tsugaru. The second deals with the Tsugaru region. Neither author nor era is known. It is assumed to have been written between April and October of 1757 and certainly in 1758 because of its description of the smallpox epidemic. Also known as *Ezo Matsumae Bunsho*.

Bunka Sennen Tsutomesbiki (Duty regulations for 1806). Regulations for the Tsugaru officials on duty in Ezo. Owned by the Hirosaki Library.

Matsuura Takeshirō, *Teshio Nisshi* [Teshio diary]. Selections from the diary of an exploration of the Teshio River, during June 1857, which was undertaken at the order of the High Commissioner of Hakodate.

Tatematsu Kanieshi *Tōyuki* (Record of a trip to the East). 2 books. In the preface the author states that he left Edo in 1783 for Matsumae in order to visit old friends and that he stayed at Esashi for a year during which time he made notes on Ezo. There is good detailed treatment of the customs and especially of the economy of Matsumae at this time. The author was commonly known as Kahei or Yaeumon. He was from Owari and a comic poet. His trip seems actually to have been made as a secret investigation of Matsumae at the instigation of the Bakufu official Tsuchiyama Sōjirō.

FURUKAWA TATSU, *Tōyu Zakki* (Miscellany of a trip to the East). 30 vols. The diary of a journey to Tōhoku and Matsumae by a member of a Bakufu inspection party in 1788. Volumes 11 through 18 treat Ezo customs in detail and have many illustrations. They have been published as Vol. 12 of *Kinsai Shaki Keizai Sōsho*.

TŌ CHIBUN, *Tōi Shūran* (Observations of Eastern Ezo). 2 books. The first volume contains very sharp observations and descriptions of the topography of each of the *Basho* from Matsumae to Kunashiri. The second volume is a miscellany of the things the author heard and saw on his trip. There is an annex with two articles. One is on the island of Karafuto; the other is on drugs produced in Ezo. The foreword is dated October 1801.

Tōi Hisohiso *Fobanashi* (Night whispering stories of Eastern Ezo). 17 books. Volumes 1 through 12 are documents on the negotiations with Russia from 1804-1813. The other volumes deal with conditions at the big *Basho*, such as

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Shiraoi, in the period 1806-1811 along with mileage from Hakodate and details on population, products and houses.

TONEI GENSHIN, *Tōkai Sanjū* (Three stories of the Eastern Seas). The diary of a trip from Sōya to Shikotsu and Hakodate and back to Japan in company with Tōyama Kagenobu with much material on what the author heard and saw in Ezo in the years 1805-1806. A biography of Mogami Tokunori comprises an annex. The author was born at Jōshū and later was known as Arai Seisaku.

OUCHI YOAN, *Tōkai Yawu* (Night stories of Eastern Ezo). 3 books. A detailed narrative of the customs, habits, geography, legends, and anecdotes of the Ezo by a medical doctor on the staff of the Commissioner at Hakodate from 1854 to 1859. It was published by Bunenkaku at Edo in 1861. There is a preface by Suzuki Yoshimori and Maeda Kain. There are many illustrations by Tazaki Sōun and Hashimoto Gyokuran. It has also been published by Hakubunkan as an annex to Section Nine of Matsubara Nijusankaidō's *Nihon Meishō Chishi* but this latter edition is not accurate.

Ansei Sammen Shogatsu yori Tokachi Koku Goyodome. Documents on the Tokachi area for the period 1856-1860. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Tokachi Koku Kyūdojin Shorui (Materials on the old natives of the Tokachi region). A paper from the Tokachi region dated May 1856 on the Ezo custom of fostering children. It is contained in the *Ezo Zassho*.

Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu (Outline of the Tokachi region). Edited by the Shizuoka clan detachment that was charged with duty in Tokachi from January 1870 to August 1871.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRO, *Tokachi Nisshi* (Tokachi diary). A selection from the diary of a journey from Ishikari to the Ishikari River, Tokachi, the Saoro River, and then to Otsu at the mouth of the Tokachi River, undertaken between February 19, 1858, and March 19, 1858. Originally a part of the TES.

Tokachi Bashō Moshigae Shō (Report on Tokachi Bashō). A report submitted by Kudō Sadauemon, an official of the Matsumae clan as a result of an inspection tour of Tokachi 1855. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Dojin Yuraiiki (On the origins of the natives). A collection of materials on the dispute between the Ishikari Bashō Ainu and the Yūbetsu Bashō Ainu on the right to fish the Chitose River, rights which antedated the pre-Bakufu direct control period and which were dissolved in 1808. The title comes from the volume on the origins of the Yūbari Ainu and the Isari-Muisari Ainu called *Yūbetsu Ishikari Kyōkai Muisari Yuhari Kyōkai Kyō Jikki*.

Niikappu Moshigae Wakecho (Report on Niikappu). Estimates of the annual expenditures, population, prices of native goods, market volume and wage scales in 1859. Prepared by the official Inoue Genshichirō for the Commissioner at Hakodate as the result of an inspection trip. Contained in *Goryō Ansei Rokuhistuji no Toshi Chu Shōkado Wake Mokuroku*.

Bunsei Gomen Niikappu Bashō Hikitsugi Shō. Materials on the transfer of Niikappu Bashō in 1822. Chiefly concerned with native relations. Part of *Ezo Zassho*.

Nishi Ezochi Ishikari Obashō Ezojinninbetsu Narabi ni Kaihō Kata Shihainin Bannin Kasegi Kata Ninzu Shikomihin Shussanbutsu Shirabe Shōjō Utsushi. A report prepared in February 1854 and the best source for conditions in the Ishikari Bashō at that time.

Nishi Ezochi Takashima Nikki (A record of Takashima in West Ezo). 4 books. A diary by an unknown author who was in the company of the Bakufu official Inoue Kanryū during a trip from Takashima where, in 1808, Inoue had been in charge of that island, to Matsumae. The diary is interspersed with poems and has an Ezo vocabulary as an appendix.

MATSUURA TAKESHIRO, *Nishi Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of West Ezo). 6 books. Selections from the author's *Tōzai Ezo Sansenchiri Torishirabe Kihō* [TES].

- 113 *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi Hikiyotashi Ensetsusho* (Address on transferring the Western area in 1822). A speech delivered by a Bakufu official on the occasion of the transfer of Western Ezo in 1822. A good source for the *Basho* customs of the period.
- Nemuro Kyōkanashi* (The old customs of Nemuro). Selected documents on the Nemuro *Basho* for the period 1856-1858. Edited by Matsumoto Jūrō, senior Kaitakushi officer.
- Nemuro Nenchi Gyōji* (The annual routines and ceremonies at Nemuro). A detailed record of the routine of the Matsumae officials on duty at Nemuro. Kudō Kodanji passed through Nemuro in 1829 and either got the original of this or made a copy.
- MATSUURA TAKESHIRO, *Nosshappu Nisshi* (Nosshappu diary). Selections from the diary of his journey from Atsushi to Nemuro in April 1858 by way of Kiritappu, Hanazaki, and Nosshappu. Originally a part of *TES*.
- Hakodate Goshūō Kadozukechō*. An account book presented by the Matsumae clan to the Commissioner at Hakodate in 1854. It deals with the tax receipts from the seven local *Basho* of Hakodate and with the tax regulations.
- Banrido Kanishi Nukikaki* (Selections from the *Banrido Kanishi*). Selections from the Ezo diary of Yamazaki Hanzō with an annex of miscellaneous materials on Ezo. Owned by the Hakodate Library.
- Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* (Journal of a trip in Eastern Ezo). Treats of the roads from Matsumae to all parts of Eastern Ezo, geography in general, native chiefs, contractors, products and prices and mileages. Written in 1856. Author unknown.
- MATSUURA TAKESHIRO, *Higashi Ezo Nisshi* (Diary of Eastern Ezo). 8 books. A collection of materials from his numerous journals covering the situation in Eastern Ezo from Yamakoshinai to Nosshappu during the late 1850's.
- Hidaya Kyōki* (Records of Hidaya). A copy in 2 books. A copy of old records covering the period from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century and largely concerned with the contracts of Hidaya Kynhei who had the lumber contracts in the Kunashiri, Nemuro, and Atsushi *Basho* and who had achieved a great reputation in the development of Hokkaidō. The copy was made by Kōnō Tsunekichii.
- MATSUMAE HIRONAGA, *Fukuyama Hiji* (Archives of Fukuyama). A collection of historical materials of the Matsumae clan edited by Matsumae Hironaga from private and official records. Done in 1780 at the direction of the head of the clan. We know there were sixty volumes which covered chronology, official business, religion, genealogy, law, lists of clan subjects, geography, fauna and flora, currency, the Ezo rebellion of 1669, and so on. No complete set survives but what is left represents the best record we have for the period 1443-1780. Hironaga, assistant clan chief, was the best scholar of the clan and has a number of other works to his credit—*Matsumae Shi*, *Matsumae Nenreki Shōkei*, *Mojin Seidan*, *Ezo Retsumō Furoku*, *Fuku Ou So*.
- MUKŌYAMA ATSUSHI, ed. *Heishin Jōtetsu*. 3 books. A collection of Bakufu documents on Ezo covering the first half of the nineteenth century. It forms a part of the *Seisai Zuihitsu* which itself dealt with the institutions, origins of the culture, the changes in customs and the internal and external affairs of Ezo. *Seisai Zuihitsu* was written and edited by Mukōyama who had first inspected Ezo in 1854 and who died in 1856 while on a journey in Karafuto.
- MATSUDA DENJURŌ, *Hokni Dan* (Stories of Ezō). 7 books. Written by Matsuda Shirozaemon, a Bakufu official who had administered the affairs of Hokkaidō during the twenty-four years of the Bakufu direct administration of Ezo from 1799 to 1822. He stayed there for nineteen years and he wrote these books for the purpose of transmitting to his posterity his experiences in service and his observations there. Another title of this book is *Matsuda Shi Shiroku Hikki*. The author, whose old family name was Asami, was born

113 in Echigo and adopted by the Matsuda family. His given name is Nisaburō and later he changed it to Denjūrō. He served in East Ezo, Edo, Sakhalin, Matsumae, Esashi, Hakodate, and Sōya, and greatly contributed to the exploration of Karafuto and to the development of trade with the Santan.

SAKAKURA GENJIRO, *Hokkai Zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous accounts of the Northern Seas). 2 books. The first volume is a detailed treatment of the customs and manners, products, and geography of Matsumae, and the second of the customs and language of the Ezo. This is supposed to be the best of the materials concerning Ezo (in abundance of detail). At the end of this book, the author's distinguished opinion of the exploration of Ezo is attached. Written by Sakakura Genjiro, an employee of Gotō Shōzaburō (a gold merchant in Edo who came to Matsumae to investigate Hokkaidō in 1737 and 1738 at the request of the Bakufu in order to open up gold mines there). There are many copies of this book such as *Ezo Ki*, *Ezo Zuihitsu*, *Ezo Matsumae Karasu*, *Ezo Ridan*, *Ezo Kimon*, all of which have the same content as the original. *Ezo Kōki*, another edition of this book which is included in *Nippon Bunko*, lacks the author's opinion of Ezo explorations along with other materials.

SAKAI TADAKUNI, *Hokkaidō Junkō* (A journey around Hokkaidō). 3 books. An official report by Sakai Tadakuni, an inspector of the Colonial Bureau, who made a tour of investigation of Ibari, Hidaka, Tokachi, Kushiro, Nemuro, Kitami, and Teshio starting in May of 1879. In the former four areas he describes the actual scenes, especially emphasizing the conditions of the salmon fisheries. In the latter three areas he gives a detailed account of his observations including the climate, products, transportation, and education. The third book deals with the customs and manners of the Ainu. Another title of this book is *Sakai Tadakuni Hokuchi Rikōki*.

Hokkaidō Dojin Chinjutsucho (Petition by the native of Hokkaidō). In September 1894, a petition was made by a person who came to Tōkyō accompanied by an Ainu and who stated that the natives of Hokkaidō were ill-treated. This event attracted the attention of people, and became the motive for proposing a bill for the protection of the natives by Suzuki Atsumi and others in the Eighth Diet Session. This book is a collection of the petitions and the documents given in answer by the Hokkaidō government in the Diet Session. Owned by Hokkaidō Imperial University Library.

Hokkaidō Dojin Hōshiki Sonota Zatsuzi Tairyoku Shirabe (HDHS) (A survey of the customs and other miscellaneous affairs of the natives in Hokkaidō). A survey of the daily life of Ainu by Sakai Tadakuni, a Kaitakushi official, done at the request of the government in 1877. Useful for the life of the contemporary Ainu people in Tokachi and Hidaka provinces. Included in *Hokkaidō Junkōki* by the same author and in *Ezo Zasshi* 2 edited by the Colonial Bureau.

KIMURA KENJI and TAKEISHI MINZŌ, *Hokko Nichiroku* (A diary of a journey to the North). 1 book. A diary by Kimura Kenji and Takeishi Minzō, country samurai who, by a secret order of Tachihara of the Mito Clan came to Matsumae and made private inquiries into the reception for Laxman, a Russian agent, by the Bakufu. This reception was held at Fukuyama in 1792. The diary includes their observations at Matsumae and gives an account of the state of the Clans in the Ōu area. I have used an extract from the book, owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

ŌUCHI SEIEMON, *Hokurui Taimon* (A dialogue on Ezo). In May 1838 Ōuchi Seiemon, a merchant at Nakaminato, Hitachi, visited Matsumae and Hakurō to make private inquiries at the request of Mito Mitsukuni, the lord of the Mito Clan. This, written in the form of question and answer, describes his observations. The listener is supposed to be Kunitomo Zen-an, the President of Shōkōkan. This

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book is also called *Ezo Jōjitsu*. This includes an appendix of accounts of the travel by Seimon.

TOYODA Ryō, ed. *Hokuto Shi* (History of Hokkaidō). 5 vols. Edited by Toyoda Ryō, the manager of Shōkōkan, at Mito, at the request of the Bakufu. Toyoda's other name is Tenkō. He was commonly called Hikozirō, and his pen name is Shōbō. This book describes the history of Ezo and Northern Ezo from Age of the Gods to 1854 when the office of the Magistrate of Hokkaidō was established. Written in Chinese. It has a preface written in August 1854. Published in 1870.

Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari (Narrative by Hokuto Sanjin). Written at Edo in 1846 at the dictation of one whose pen name is Hokuto Sanjin and who returned from Matsumae in 1845. This book includes also as an appendix a later narrative of matters in Ezo which is based upon Sanjin's staying at Hakodate from 1851 to 1852. Owned by Hakodate Library.

MOGAMI Tokunai and HONDA Toshiakira, ed. *Hokuken Kimpireku* (Secret history of the northern frontier). This book, written by Honda Toshiakira from the original manuscript by Mogami Tokunai, elucidating the ambition of Russia and the loose management of Matsumae, advises the Bakufu to prepare for an emergency. In the preface, the author writes: "On January 28, 1795, Honda Toshiakira finished this book."

Hotarū Nai Honjin Shinorigardome, 1867-68 (Official records related to the Otaru Office). 1 book. Official records of the main office of Otaru which are concerned with Ebisuya Hanbē's resignation in 1867 from that office. Hanbē was dismissed in April 1865 from the job of contractor and appointed as a traveling tax collector at the office of Otaru. This is in the Kimura Collection, Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Matsumae Ezo Ki (The Matsumae Ezo record). This presents useful stories of Fukuyama Castle, streets, taxes, merchant vessels, products, and so forth. The author and the date are unknown. But the late Kōnō Tsunekichi suggested the following: "The copy of a book which was submitted from the House Matsumae says: 'In the lifetime of the Lord of the Isle, my great-grandfather, there were gold mines at Unbetsu, Tokachi, Shirioshiuchi, and Shiriuchi.' This great-grandfather means Matsumae Kimihiro VII. Kimihiro's great-grandchild was Matsumae Tsunehiro X who died in 1720. Therefore, it is clear that this book was written before 1720. The copy says also: 'Because of the order of 1716 to present hawks, last winter eight pairs of year-old hawks and this spring, one year-old hawk were presented.' This story accurately corresponds to the narrative of 1716 in *Fukuyama Hifu* and that in *Matsumae Kyūjiki*. Therefore, the book was written in 1717. On the twenty-third of June in the same year, inspectors came to Matsumae and returned on the fourteenth of July. From this fact, we can suppose that this was written by these inspectors."

HOTTA MASAATSU, *Matsumae Kikō* (Matsumae travel diary). In June 1808 Hotta Masaatsu, a Councilor of State, Lord of Settsu, and the Lord of the manor of Katada, went to Matsumae at the request of the Bakufu, and made a tour of inspection as far as Usu in the East and Esashi in the West, and returned to Edo in October of the same year. This is his diary of this tour, written in fluent Japanese, sometimes including Japanese odes ("Waka"). This book has been called by several names such as *Matsumae Kikō*, *Katadako Chishima no Ki*, *Ezo Kikō*, or *Ezo Michinoki*. Included in the sixth volume of *Sendai Sōsho*.

MATSUMAE HIRONAGA, *Matsumae Shi* or *Hokui Shi* (A work on Matsumae). 10 books. A work by Matsumae Hironaga with an introduction written by the author in 1781. This work, a detailed description of Matsumae Ezo, consists of a brief genealogy of the House of Fukuyama and parts on the Ezo government, customs, and manners of the Ezo, geography,

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birds and animals, fishes, grains, vegetables, and money and goods.

Matsumae Zuishō-Roku (Records by merchants of Matsumae).

A guidebook including the distances, products, taxes, etc., of villages in Matsumae and Eastern and Western Ezo. The year of publication is unknown, but supposedly is around 1781. There are many copies of it which have marginal notes. It is also known as *Hokushan Fudohi*. Owned by Hakodate Library.

Matsumae Hisatsu (Hidden stories of Matsumae). Written in

1839 at the dictation of Tokumemon, the chief shipping agent of the Takadaya firm. It describes in detail the industries in Ezo while Takadaya was active there, geography of Matsumae Ezo, meritorious deeds of Takadaya Kabei, and the case wherein Takadaya Kinbei was charged in 1833 as a smuggler. It also includes accounts of the political injustices in the Matsumae Clan, and rumors concerning the succession to the House of Matsumae. This is excellent material since it shows the social and economic situations in Ezo during the period of direct administration by the Bakufu and of the administration by the Matsumae Clan.

Matsumae Fukuyama no Shookite (Laws and regulations in Matsumae). A collection of the laws and regulations issued by the House of Matsumae during the period between 1678 and 1805.

Misou Ki or *Oku no Nihki*, 2 vols. (Diary of a journey to a far place). A diary of a journey made in 1799 from Edo to Horōizumi in East Ezo and back by Tōyama Kinshirō, an agent of Matsudaira Sadanobu.

Murakami Awaji no Kami Kaiho Jōshin Ki. A report to the Lord of Awaji which is part of the collection "Ansei Santatsumi no toshi rokugatsu yori uwayakushu mimawari no tame tsuko toriatsumai oboe."

Murayama Denjirō Rireki Tairyaku Shirabe (A brief record of Murayama Denjirō). A collection of the documents concerning the history of the Abeya, the commercial and financial group of the Murayama family, who were contractors for the Bakufu in Ishikari. The original copy is owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Murayama Denbei Rireki (Personal history of Murayama Denbei). A personal history of Murayama Denbei III, the founder of the Abeya who, occupying a position as an official in Edo, led the commercial world of Hokkaidō by undertaking big contracts in several places in Karafuto and in Sōya and Shari, as well as in Ishikari and Eastern Ezo areas such as Kunashiri, Nemuro, Akkeshi, Kushiro. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

SHIEN SHUJIN, ed. *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narratives of the hairy aborigines of the eastern region). It consists of *Higashi Ezo Kikō* written by Yamazaki Hanzō, a clansman of Tsugaru, in 1806, and *Etorofu Shi* by Rekisai Sanjin, also a clansman of Tsugaru, in 1809. It was edited by a clansman of Tsugaru who expressed his opinion that, without understanding its geography and manners and customs, Ezo, an important frontier for the Tsugaru clan, could not be secured.

Mombetsu Kaikō ni Tsuki Shokakitsuke (Documents concerning the encouragement of clearing lands at Mombetsu in 1858). The encouragement was promoted by the Bakufu officials stationed at Mombetsu in the territory of Sōya. These were collected from *Ansei Gonen Kaikō Kata Sho Kakitsuke*, *Ezochi Goyōdome*, *Muragaki Awaji no Kami Dono Gokaiho Chū Shokakitsuke*, etc. Owned by the Daichi Library in Hokkaidō.

Mombetsu Bashō Saichū Toriatsumai (Records at Mombetsu). The documents collected at the office of Mombetsu, Kitami, in August of 1864. These include a copy of prohibitions, laws, orders delivered at *Omusha*, a list of the boundaries of the lands transferred, a list of the prices of arrow-feathers, of bear liver and hides, and the hides of other kinds of small animals in Northern Ezo, a record of

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the wages paid to the natives, a record of names and places, distances, number of the native families, fishing places, etc.

Yuriru Iken Oukesho (A written acknowledgment in the Yuriru Island Case). This consists of a written acknowledgment of the settlement of the conflict which occurred in 1833 between the office of Akkeshi and that of Nemuro in connection with fishing rights at Yuriru Island and a record of administration in Ezo and a list of the amount of products which were offered by the office of Nemuro to Kudô Sadanemon who inspected there in 1855.

Roi Goydome (Conflict with the Russians in Ezo). Five documents concerning the conflict with the Russians who were active in and around Ezo and arrested by the agents of the Bakufu office at Ushiyoro, Karafuto during the period from 1864 to 1867.

TOYOSHIMA SANUEMON, Ōko Esojin no Hanashi Kibiritaru Hikae (Observations of the old Ezo). Observations by Toyoshima Sanuemon, an interpreter since 1818 at the office of Kushiro. It includes the contemporary situation at Shiranuka in exploitation, the names of the resident natives at such places as Abashiri, Ashigoro, and Kushiro, in the period of Bunsei, "List of the names of the Guards in the Territory of Kushiro," "The Prices of the Products which were Bought from the Natives," both of which were written in 1807, a note on the names and distances of the new roads in Shari which opened in 1807, and the names of the places and distances in the Territories.

Nakano Genroku, *Waka-Gojiro Mizuo* (Secret note on Tanka). To make a good Tanka, a 31-syllable Japanese poem, the spirit of the first part of it must be conveyed to the last part of it. On referring this concept to politics, the author discusses the defects of the Bakufu administration in Ezo, especially the evil effects of summary trials.

Watarishima Hikki (Watarishima notebook). Description of the manners and customs of the Aimo in Eastern and Western Ezo, including some rare stories concerning Aimo in the last part of the book. Although written in the style of stray thoughts and notes, it is a notable work in its detailed description of the manners and customs of the Aimo. Undoubtedly written in 1808, but the author is unknown. Kyôzuke Kindaichi, in his *Yakara no Kenkyû*, states that this may have been written by Mogami Tsunenori.

Inoue Genshichirô Sama Gokaiho Tetsuzukisho (Documents concerning a tour of inspection by Inoue Genshichirô). Describes the official treatment of Inoue Genshichirô in the Bakufu office at Nemuro, who was the chief assistant of the magistrate of Hakodate and made an inspection of Nemuro in 1859. It includes an official address offered to him from that office.

Inoue Genshichirô Sama Gokaiho Nikki (Diary of a tour of inspection by Inoue Genshichirô). A collection of documents which consist of a pay-bill for the natives from the Bakufu office at Nemuro, which was offered in 1859 to Inoue Genshichirô, the chief assistant of the magistrate of Hakodate, a petition from Zinsuke, the chief adviser at Nemuro, concerning the case of Nishibetsu and the diary of a tour of inspection by Genshichirô and his party.

OKAMOTO KENSUKE, Okamoto Kensuke Jiden (An autobiography by Okamoto Kensuke). This covers the period from Okamoto Kensuke's childhood to 1869. It is rich in useful materials for the study of the history of the exploitation of the northern frontier. It includes the fact that the author explored the perimeter of the northern part of Karafuto in 1865 and a full account of an episode that occurred at the time of the Meiji restoration when he advised Shimizutani, a chamberlain, to make an effort to promote the exploitation of Ezo. It also describes his activities in Ezo as a judge and has many other stories. Another name of the author is Shihaku. He was called Bunpei at first, and later he changed it to Kensuke. His pen name is Ian.

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/For additional information on the cultural history and foreign relations of the Ainu, see category 116, pp. 23-81/.